

AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION

From the Frontier to the Factory; Its Social and Political Effects.

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(This essay will be published serially in this and subsequent issues.)

(Continued from last week.)

CHAPTER IX. FREE SILVER AND BUSTAMANT.

In 1893, this country was afflicted with a distressing panic. The mercantile and manufacturing middle class was forced into bankruptcy, factories were closed and millions rendered idle. Public soup-houses and the creation of public works became necessary in order to feed and give temporary employment to the army thus affected. The panic of 1893 is said to have been deliberately created in order to save the ultra-capitalist class from the growing menace of populism. The evidence offered in support of this theory is rather circumstantial than positive; and, therefore, not wholly convincing. The necessity of preserving ultra-capitalism is held to have been imperative, which it undoubtedly was, to judge from the struggles with populism. It is also claimed that the panic occurred amid great prosperity, and consequently could not have been the result of inherent conditions, but was artificially forced. This latter argument is unconvincing, for what panic has not come like a thunderbolt out of the apparently clear skies of great industrial activity? In fact, the greater the industrial activity, the greater the panic. The world-wide panic of 1873 occurred amid a more remarkable condition of affairs than did that of 1893. The truth is that the panic of 1893 was not without the customary premonitions. In 1892, "The Review of Reviews," in commenting on the Brussels Monetary Conference, held in October of the same year, hoped that the results of this conference would have "a good influence upon the disturbed and depressed state of trade in India, Mexico and the South American States, and immediately show a decided quickening of the trade of the world." This did not occur; in fact matters grew worse. In the spring of 1893, the crash, which was preaged and anticipated by the conference, came with startling force. Australian bank failures took the lead abroad, and soon this country, together with England, was involved in an abundance of failures and shut-downs. In this country, the trouble was held to be due to the bad effects of the Silver Purchasing Clause of the Sherman bill, which compelled the purchase of a certain quantity of silver at a constantly depreciating rate of value. A special session of Congress was called by President Cleveland, and the Silver Purchasing Clause repealed. This repeal, combined with the panic, precipitated the free silver and government ownership campaign of 1896, in which William Jennings Bryan figured so conspicuously. This campaign was an intensely exciting one. It was attended by many dramatic events; and was, on the part of the free silverites, revolutionary in criticism and tactics, though reactionary in aim. It swept aside and relegated to the rear the tariff question, bringing to the front the trust question, and with it, the great labor question. As Gov. Altgeld, one of the foremost Bryanites declared, America had reached a new epoch and only new issues could appeal to and win the people.

DEPRECIATION AND ANTI-TRUSTISM.

To understand the basis and interests arrayed against the party of the plutocracy—the gold standard Republican party—in the campaign of 1896, it will be wise to enumerate and specify them. First there were the silver mine owners. These feared a depreciation in the value of their commodity and properties, as a result of the action of Congress. They accordingly were vitally interested in the establishment of silver on a parity with gold as a money metal, at a ratio of sixteen to one. Such an establishment would not only prevent depreciation but create an appreciation of silver. It was charged, and also denied, that Bryan's campaign expenses were paid by an organization of the silver-mine owners, which was known as the silver trust, because of its combined efforts in behalf of the interests of its members. Second, the indebted farmers and land speculators were also vitally concerned. Success in depreciating the money standard fifty per cent. by way of the "free and unlimited coinage of silver," would have enabled them to pay their mortgage indebtedness, then amounting to the enormous sum of \$6,000,000,000, in a devalued currency worth only \$3,000,000,000. This certainly was an enormous incentive to the bankrupt farming and land-holding class generally. It must be said, however, that many farmers, as consistent, thorough flat-money and sub-treasury men, fought the coalition with the free-silverites, which had taken place at St. Louis

in 1894, and which they denounced as a betrayal of the Omaha platform, a document which reflected their views and interests without free-silver domination. Third, there was the manufacturing and mercantile middle class who saw in government ownership of the railroads, the same relief from rate discriminations and high charges so disastrous to them, as did the farmers; with this addition: that it would prove an entering wedge to the municipal ownership of so-called public utilities, by means of which the manufacturing and mercantile middle class could acquire cheap factory sites, light, heat and power, the rents for and prices of which were obstructive factors to success in the competitive struggle with the big corporations and trusts. In general, it may be remarked that to the trust, with its superior economic, political, legislative and legal power, most of the ills of the age were attributed. To the trust was due the demonetization of silver and the inflation of prices and property values. The trust was responsible for the immense concentration of wealth made known through the statistical researches of Sherman, Holmes and Spahr; researches prophesying the coming of the billionaire and showing that one per cent. of the families of the country owned more wealth than the remaining ninety-nine. The trust had also, in the past decade, successfully and successfully defied many legislative and legal attempts to destroy or curb it, going serenely on its way, adapting itself to the changed condition of affairs, or ignoring it, wherever possible, to the great chagrin and dismay of the opposing middle class, whether agricultural, manufacturing or mercantile. Closely identified with the leading political party—the Republican Party—and the financial or gold interests for which that party stood, and, foremost in the oppression of labor, as at Homestead in 1892 and Chicago in 1894 (of which more later on), the trust was the target of all opposition, and its extinction or curbing by financial and government ownership legislation, was the be-all and end-all of political activity, as was obviously its survival and progress in the interests of the ultra-capitalists—the plutocracy. Thus there came about that conflict of class interests of the middle and working classes against the plutocratic class—that made the trust, in the language of Daniel De Leon, "The storm center of the social storm."

TRIUMPHANT DEMOCRACY TRANSFORMED INTO TRIUMPHANT PLUTOCRACY. How that storm did rage in 1896! It was the intensity of Chicago and New York in 1896, multiplied many fold on a national scale. The country was overwhelmed with speechmaking and pamphleteering, in which "free trade or protection?", "the bloody shirt," i. e., the sectional differences resulting from the Civil War, greenbackism, and many another hoary-headed "issue," was either given its quietest once for all, or else compelled to take a decidedly subsidiary place in the scheme of nature. The new economic and political principles and conditions resulting from the new concentration of capital, especially as applied to the opportunities of the small capitalist and workingman, and the vast accumulations of wealth and power in the hands of a few, were attacked and defended with all the wit, logic, eloquence and brilliance of the age. Both sides spoke with the brutal frankness and the fierce passion that are the reflex of all genuine efforts looking to the promotion or defense of class interests. "There was no hypocrisy or diplomacy; no temporizing or parleying, but a vigorous stand up and knock down fight, while all the world, conscious that a momentous battle was being fought, looked on in wondering expectancy as to its final outcome. Bryan was clearly the popular candidate. Intimidation, based on the economic power of the ultra-capitalists, saved the day. Mark Hanna, campaign manager and physical embodiment of the plutocracy, intimated that all the industries owned by the latter would close down in the event of Bryan's election. The recollection of the panic of 1893 was still vivid. "Triumphant Democracy" was transformed into Triumphant Plutocracy.

CHAPTER X.

THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Besides the Republican and Democratic parties, representing the ultra-capitalist and middle classes, respectively, together with the workingmen whom they forced or deceived into siding with them, there was another party in the field in 1896—a strictly working class political party—the Socialist Labor Party. The history of the Socialist Labor Party is the history of working class development. As already stated, in the sixties of the last century there was a revival of distinctly working class political parties. In the years intervening between the sixties and '96 these parties were frequent and numerous. Their progress was from formative confusion and corruption, resulting from indefinite conditions and the conflict of principle and tactics, to clear-cut, uncompromising and aggres-

sive class-consciousness. Like everything else, sociological as well as biological, it was an evolution in which environment was a great factor. A working class party can no more form without appropriate economic surroundings than a man can walk before the requisite geological stage. Conditions in the sixties of the last century were not as sharply defined as in the latter half of the nineties. Those were years of tremendous progress. Though as early as the 60's there had been an infusion of modern European Socialism into this country, which first affected a Sylvius and later a Stevens, both workingmen among workingmen, it was not strong enough to wean the American working class from its traditional political course. Accordingly we see the first of the post-civil war American working class political parties, the National Reform party, organized in 1865, to secure eight hour reforms, embracing the Greenback ideas of the farming class, as had the earlier working class political parties embraced the money ideas of the farming class of their day. This is quite natural, when the influence of the land and the farmer in those days is considered; many workingmen were at that time either ex-farmers or prospective farmers, that is, men who lived in the hope of escaping bondage via the farm. The National Reform Party could not cut the navel string with which it was born. As a result, it became a prey to demagogic politicians, like Ben Butler, who diluted its original working class principles and character, and hastened its corrupt merging with the old political parties of the day. The National Reform Party was variously known as the Labor Reform Party and the National Labor Union Party. It acquired the latter name from the fact that it was launched at the third convention of the National Labor Union. The National Labor Union was a short-lived predecessor of the Knights of Labor. It was represented at the Balse convention of the International in 1869.

THE PANIC OF '73 AND LABOR POLITICS.

In 1873, the panic of that year, through its armies of unemployed, and the demonstrations in their behalf, injected a decidedly big dose of industrialism, pure and simple, into labor politics. The failure of the city officials of Chicago to fulfill promises of relief, led to the formation of the Labor Party of Illinois. Municipal parties sprung up in other cities from the same causes. This was a purely political rebuke, due to exasperating and unrelieved industrial conditions. As such it was a sign of distinctively working class politics, being by, for and of the working class. In July, 1877, the employees of the Baltimore and Ohio and other railroads, suffered a reduction of ten per cent. in wages, whereupon they went on a strike, that was widespread and serious in character. John Swinton, a well-known labor leader of that time, in an answer to a reporter regarding the probability of a revolution in this country growing out of the troubles between capital and labor, quoted from his paper, by Browne's "Studies in Modern Socialism," makes a statement that indicates both the nature and the extent of this strike. "Swinton—Well things do happen so unprovided for in this queer old planet of ours—the king waving the tri-color to-day, the guillotine on the Place de la Concorde to-morrow. The May of 1877 in our own country, lambent and calm; July of 1877 over one hundred thousand militia under arms against railroad revolts; Pittsburgh echoing to Seranton; the trumpets resounding from San Francisco to New York! No man knows the dawn of to-morrow. God knows. Be ye ready, for in such an hour as ye know not, the tornado cometh." Thus 1877 talked revolution in the concrete instead of experimenting with it in the abstract as in 1840.

The railroad strikes gave a further impetus to working class politics of a more revolutionary character. It enabled the International socialists to make effective propaganda. They used the strikes so well that they were charged with instigating them! Meetings of protest against the outrageous acts of the militia, and of sympathy for the striking railroad men, did much to introduce modern socialist teachings. The brutal dispersal of these meetings, as in Tompkins Square, New York, only helped the good work along.

THE WORKMEN'S PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES.

It was in 1877, that the Socialist, or Socialistic Labor Party, at it was first called, was formed in Newark, New Jersey. It was a consolidation of the working class remnants of the National Labor Union, the North-American Federation of the International Workmen's Association, organized in New York in 1872, and the Social Democratic Workmen's Party, organized in New York in 1874. Some groups of French and English socialists were also included; but the German socialist trade union element was predominant. The Socialist Labor Party was first known as the Workmen's Party of the United States. According to the platform and principles appended to "Better Times," a pamphlet written by Dr. A. Douai, one of its most cultured representatives, famous as an editor, abolitionist and pedagogue, having introduced the Frobel kindergarten system to this country, the Workmen's Party of the United States declared, "the Emancipation of the Working Classes must be achieved by the Working Classes themselves, independent of all political parties of the propertied class."

"The struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Classes means

not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for Equal Rights and Duties, and the abolition of all Class Rule.

"The Economical subjection of the man of Labor to the monopolizer of the means of labor—the sources of life—lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence.

"The Economical Emancipation of the Working Classes is therefore the great end, to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means."

The platform and principles then proceed to point out that all efforts to these ends have failed because of want of working class solidarity "between the manifold divisions of labor," and international action, holding that the labor problem is a social problem and as such, depends for its solution on a united working class and "concurrent international co-operation." "For these reasons, the Workmen's Party of the United States has been founded." A series of resolutions that follows, declares political liberty without economic freedom an empty phrase; "therefore we will in the first place direct our efforts to the economical question." Here follows a repudiation of all connection with all political parties of the propertied classes regardless of name; a demand for the common ownership of the means of labor (land, machinery, railroads, telegraphs, canals, etc.), "for the purpose of abolishing the wages system, and substituting in its place Co-operative Production with a just distribution of its rewards." Then comes a declaration that "the political action of the party is confined generally to obtaining legislative acts in the interest of the working class proper"; also that "we work for organization of the Trades Unions upon a national and international basis to ameliorate the condition of the working people and seek to spread therein the above principles." The whole concludes with eleven measures "as a means to improve the condition of the Working Classes," viz: eight hour day; sanitary inspection of factories and dwellings; establishment of bureaus of labor statistics, state and national; no prison labor by private employers; prohibition of child labor under fourteen years; gratuitous education; strict liability laws; gratuitous legal administration; abolition of conspiracy laws; government taking, holding and operating of railroads, telegraphs and all means of transportation; government control of all industrial enterprises "as fast as practicable and operated by free Co-operative Trades Unions for the good of the whole people."

Subsequent platforms of the Socialist Labor Party exhibited less redundancy, more polish and logical coherence. They declared labor is the creator of all wealth and civilization; pointed out the expropriation of labor by the capitalist class; emphasized the need of the common ownership of capital and of class action, political and economic, by the working class, as a solution; and added more "improving measures," such as the abolition of the presidency, woman suffrage, anti-blue laws, etc., etc.

THE BALLOT OR THE BULLET?

In close contact with the European socialist movement the newly-formed Socialist Labor Party reflected acutely all its forms, tactics and internal troubles. The latter revolved mainly around the time-worn and ever persistent question, the ballot or the bullet, which—a question which was unduly accentuated by home events. In 1879 the Socialist Labor Party was making immense headway, electing three Chicago aldermen and three Illinois state representatives. The capitalists were alarmed; they proceeded to count the elected men out. In A. R. Parson's book, "Anarchism," devoted to a vindication of the Chicago "Anarchists"; the speeches of the condemned men to the packed jury who "tried" them are given. In the speech of August Spies (p. 65)—the masterpiece of them all, so cultured, thorough and well-balanced is it—we get a vivid idea of how the counting out was done and what came of it. Says the admirable Spies:

"The position generally taken in this case is that we are morally responsible for the police-riot on May 4th. Four or five years ago I sat in this very court room as a witness. The workmen had been trying to obtain redress in a lawful manner. They had voted, and among others had elected their aldermanic candidate from the fourteenth ward. But the street car company did not like that man. And two or three election judges of one precinct, knowing this, took the ballot box to their home and corrected the election returns, so as to cheat the constituents of the elected candidate of their rightful representative, and give the representation to the benevolent street car monopoly. The workmen spent \$1,500 in the prosecution of the perpetrators of this crime. The proof against them was so overwhelming that they confessed to having falsified the returns and forged the official documents. Judge Gardner, who was presiding in this court, acquitted them, stating that 'that act had apparently not been prompted by criminal intent.' I will make no comment. But when we approach the field of moral responsibility, we have an immense scope. Every man who has in the past assisted in thwarting the efforts of those seeking reform is responsible for the existence of the revolutionists in this city to-day."

(To Be Continued Next Week.)

THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST CONGRESS AT ROME

By Robert Michels.

(Translated for The People from the Berlin "Neue Gesellschaft.")

The Socialist Movement in Italy is undoubtedly passing through a serious crisis. Previous to 1892 it had assumed no definite form. Composed of so heterogeneous a crowd as to render even analysis impossible, there could be no common point of view as to methods and tactics. A unifying philosophy of history, through which to contemplate the struggle, was lacking. In 1892 all this was changed. In clear contrast with the anti-parliamentarians, the so-called "anarchists," there arose the present Socialist party of Italy, with the motto: "The class struggle through political activity and collectivism through centralization." And party unity was preserved until 1900. The bitter opposition of both the government and the capitalist class left the party no time for theoretical discussion.

Then, beginning in 1900, and not yet ended, came the period of liberalism in the Italian Government. Instead of the diet of spiked clubs, to which they had previously been treated, the Socialists were now tempted with sugared words. Turati, sentenced in 1898 by a court-martial to twelve years' imprisonment, was now offered a seat in the King's Ministry. The result was inevitable—a remarkably rapid development of the labor union movement and a division of the Socialist organization on tactical

cal lines. So there has grown, during the past three years, with a rapidity known only in Southern climes, an organization composed of factory operatives, farm laborers, small land-holders, renters and government employees. This movement springing from many sources and led by university professors and lawyers, was such as to give free play to centrifugal forces. Since 1900 every congress has been marked by struggles over tactical principles. In Rome (1900) and Imola (1902) the revolutionists and "intransigents" were worsted. In Bologna (1904) the reformers went down before the combined forces of intransigents and revolutionists. This suggests how short-lived are the victories of the various elements of the movement.

The REFORMERS are the extreme right wing of the party. They have prominent leaders, the parliamentarians of the party, and also a strong following of farm-laborers. They pursue, very consistently, a policy of "step by step," with very little consideration for the ultimate ideal of the movement. The class struggle, they are willing to admit, is a social phenomenon which can be ended only with the abolition of the class system. But only by softening and eliminating the outward manifestations of this struggle, can the condition of the proletariat be improved. So they are advocates of the co-operation of the classes in social reform. Furthermore, they oppose the

revolutionary terminology which angers the ruling classes and thus hinders reform. To them Socialism is merely the sum-total of all their reforms. The social state is to be realized through the gradual evolution of democracy, undisturbed by the use of physical forces. Even at the present time, under the monarchy, the reformers are not averse to assuming ministerial responsibility. For, by taking part in governmental administration, they hope to clear away a mass of hindrances which block the way to Socialism. The general strike and the appeal to arms are means which may be employed under exceptional circumstances only. Even then, force should be used to secure reforms, never to effect a fundamental social change. For, say the reformers, complete social transformations are never possible through armed revolution. So they conceive it to be their chief duty to strengthen parliamentary government and enlarge the scope of municipal life. In this they are counting on the help of the large and small capitalists. For holding to this policy the revolutionists have dubbed them "opportunists," "parliamentarians," "monarchists."

The SYNDICALISTS are industrial proletarians. They are led by an elite young university teacher from Southern Italy, Labriola. They comprise also several of the older labor-leaders who cling steadfastly to the principles of the intransigents. They are the teachers of the Socialist movement. Their ideal is to awaken and develop in the proletariat a class-conscious spirit of opposition to the whole complex form of capitalist society. The

standpoint of the parliamentarians they attack with sharp criticism. And, even though their leaders are continuously in the very forefront of the political struggle, they are met with the charge of being anarchists. They hold that if the proletarian political party uses capitalist political methods, it will most surely become a capitalist party. To this end the party will be forced by (among other influences) its social composition, and especially the make-up of its rank and file. So the syndicalists actively propagate the idea of giving first place in the movement to the revolutionary industrial organizations. These are peculiarly fitted to bear the heavier part in the struggle. This because, first, they can draw to their ranks no professional politicians, and second, because the industrial organization carries within itself the embryo of the Socialist industrial order. From this standpoint the syndicalists argue that the chief purpose of present day political action is propaganda only. Whatever social reforms are possible under capitalism will come through the natural pressure of an organized revolutionary proletariat. To attempt to aid such a movement is to lose time. The parliamentarians are to be used as a means to the end of a fundamental social change. The reformers, complete social transformations are never possible through armed revolution. So they conceive it to be their chief duty to strengthen parliamentary government and enlarge the scope of municipal life. In this they are counting on the help of the large and small capitalists. For holding to this policy the revolutionists have dubbed them "opportunists," "parliamentarians," "monarchists."

It is clear that these two policies, as soon as attempts are made by advocates of each to push them forward, are mutually exclusive. They would

so clash as to rob the party of a good portion of its political effectiveness. The reformers had gone so far, at Genoa as to welcome the king and jubilantly hail him as an opponent of a capitalist clique in that city. Thereupon the syndicalists, in a certain electoral district in which a reform candidate was running for office, issued a proclamation calling upon their partisans to refrain from voting. In many places there exist two opposing Socialist local organizations. In short, from both right and left came the demand for a separation. The Congress at Rome, held October 7-11, was to bring this about.

But it did not do so. The strong centre, which went by the name of party-unionists (Integralists) knew how to prevent it. These unionists, led by Professor Enrico Ferri and Deputy Oddino Morgari, consists almost wholly of reformers. In politics they are seldom separated from the extreme right. But they are friends of political unity. Furthermore they may be distinguished from the extreme right by their tendency to use the traditional revolutionary terminology of the party and by their disinclination to adopt reform as a fundamental and systematic tactical policy. While they do not hesitate to support a ministry, they do so only "according to the exigency of the moment." In the Congress at Rome their resolution very clearly disavowed the principles of both reformers and syndicalists. In elections, it declared, the party should be, ordinarily, transient; in extraordinary cases, only intransigent. As regards parliamentary action, the resolution declares that the party should

never, except in the most exceptional cases, support a ministry.

To the support of this resolution the Integralists—and this was evident from the very start—could mass some 19,000 votes. Meanwhile the reformers could bring only 8,000 and the syndicalists only 5,300 to the support of their respective positions.

(A fourth group, the intransigents, the left centre—Giovanni Terza, Oda Olberg—separated at the last moment from the main body of the Integralists. Their resolution, however, was supported by only about 1,000 votes.)

The reformers thereupon concluded, after lengthy conferences, to support the resolution of the middle party. They knew it to be both theoretically and practically untenable. At first they had attempted to kill it with bitter scorn and ridicule. In favor of their final decision there were two considerations. But under all circumstances one result was to be prevented. The triumph of the middle party—whose resolution would surely be accepted—was not to be interpreted as a victory of the revolutionists over the tendencies of revisionism and be so reported to the rank and file of the party. Furthermore, it was pointed out that the theoretical premises of Ferri's resolution, with the exception of some fundamental maxims, could not be accepted. The program stated in the resolution, however, established an acceptable basis for the practical policy of a united movement.

The action of the reformers Enrico Ferri declared (in a statement couched in carefully guarded terms but directed against them) to be an act which showed a remarkable lack of political

honesty among his comrades, an act which the reformers themselves would come to regret. Still it can not be denied that, in opposition to Ferri's view of the matter, looking at it from the purely political point of view, the last move of the reformers showed real political sagacity. The "too much rights" and "too much lefts" were to be excommunicated. In the opinion of many the middle party was by this means made the plaything of the reformers, who simply lacked the courage to confess that the tactics and methods of the middle party were perfectly agreeable to them.

The results of the Congress were looked upon as a great victory of the sound sense of the middle party over the one-sidedness of both left and right. It had been calculated that the syndicalists, but especially the reform element, had become numerically stronger since the Congress at Bologna (1904). Neither of these statements is based upon facts. The position which the Congress finally took, was, in its last analysis, a great compromise. In this all three elements bore a part. The middle party (Integralists) is a party of compromise par excellence. Their activities were directed toward one end—to disavow both reformers and syndicalists and still keep them within the party. To attain this result, a resolution was to be written, which though not exactly accepted by either of the extremes, would guarantee their continued co-operation in the work of the party. Though such a formulation was not hit upon, a like result was obtained. Party unity was preserved.

(Continued on page 3.)

WOMAN'S FIELD

HOW THE CHAINS MAY BE BROKEN.

I am glad the Weekly People has opened a corner for women.

This is a step in the right direction. No paper these days can achieve distinction, or insure lasting success, without the aid and co-operation of both sexes. Especially is this so with Socialist publications, whose aim and purpose have such bearing and influence on the future of woman.

There is one thing certain, something mighty and tremendous must take place in order to arouse woman to a sense of duty and responsibility, and this "something" can only be accomplished, and brought about, by the efforts and determination of Socialists. All other factors, or forces engaged in emancipating woman, seem to be pulling in a contrary direction,—at any rate, their efforts are futile and tend only to demoralize the situation.

This perhaps, is no fault of the leaders of these forces, as their hearts seem to be in the right place, and they are earnest and energetic workers, but the fact is they are operating from a false basis—pulling on the wrong string.

After studying on all lines of thought and reform, for many years, and thoroughly sifting the wheat from the chaff, I have come to the conclusion that there is but one way worth investigating; one cause worth striving for and that is Socialism. All else is sham and delusion. Religion, art, social culture, public amusements, &c., are well enough in their places as they serve to "kill time" and drown trouble; but these are mere palliatives of the present, and have no bearing on the sterner and substantial things of life.

To those who live only in the present, and have no thought of the future, or of others, most any old kind of mental soothing-syrup will serve to drown care and keep down aspiration—but thank heaven we are not all born that way.

There is one question which every woman interested in the emancipation of her sex, should ask herself, and that is, what can be done to arouse woman from her present apathy and compel her to take an active interest in Socialism.

This is the most important duty which confronts us to-day, to carry the Olive Branch of hope to our sister slaves, who are hopelessly foundering in the mire of social and industrial ignorance. It is gratifying to observe so many of my sex engaged in the task of leading the blind to the sunlight of Socialism; but Oh! these leaders are so scarce; they seem like "one of a thousand."

and," while the ignorant herds are like the "bands of the sea." Will this procession never pass from our sight?

Oh! that some social earthquake might shake the foundation of society and set these dormant hearts to beating for the welfare of the whole human race, and set their brains to investigating the causes which so many centuries have kept them in utter darkness; together with the remedy, which, if applied, would lead them to the promised land of eternal joy and sunshine.

Oh! the magnitude of this great work! When I study the possibilities of the twentieth century, and the grandeur of life under the future, co-operative commonwealth and then think of the 99 per cent of my sex, who are chained to the altar of fashion, and resisting the combined efforts of humanitarians to extricate them from the coils of this box-constrictor—which is slowly but surely sapping the moral forces of womanhood—my heart sinks with discouragement.

From present indications I confess I have small hopes of woman ever being able to work out her economic salvation, of her own volition.

Until woman gets the idea out of her head that she can get on her own feet, she will never be able to do so.

There is one class of writers who are doing much to keep woman wedded to her present idols; and they are those who constantly refer to her as the "crowning glory of creation," the "Queen of virtues," "Goddess of wisdom, Beauty, Reason,"—and all the other demonstratives of virtues. So much of this silly twaddle has she heard from the lips and pens of professional flatterers that she has really come to believe she is the sum total of all that is immaculate and supreme.

Her presumption provokes satire, in view of the fact, that the modern woman (I refer to the fashion model) is simply a padded, pompadored, wasp-waisted, bundle of paint, ribbons, trills and hair pins—nothing more. Her education consists mostly of a knowledge of the phraseology of snobbery, society slang, language of flowers, flirtation signs,—and general foolishness.

To ascribe to God (the author of the universe) such taste, in selecting this conglomeration of shallowness and stupidity, as the queen of creation, the apex of his ingenuity, would be an indictment, verging on blasphemy.

The perfect woman is yet to come. She will be a development of future ages. We have a shadow of her perfection to-day, in the few noble women

who have scorned the follies of fashion, and spent their lives delving into the mysteries of the universe.

The by-headed "Goddess of Fashion" will never be "Goddess" except by international Socialism. Not until competition is dead and buried, and the inventors of styles are out of a job, can we hope to slay the death dirge of this monster of the ages—Fashion.

The article by Rhoda Brooks, in the Weekly People of October 20th, depicting the blighting effect of competition on woman's ideals, is only too true; but, if this blight has lowered man in her estimation, what must be the reflection of woman in the eyes of man—since the blow falls so much heavier on herself? The fact is I do not think one woman in a hundred ever had an ideal. They wouldn't recognize one if they met it in broad daylight. I used to be eternally defending woman and telling what she might be if man would only give her the chance, but of late years I saddle the blame where it belongs—on herself.

It is my opinion if man has to wait for Olive Schreiner's "camel in the desert" (woman) to rise to her feet before he can proceed on his journey to "green pastures" it will be a cold day for the race when it reaches the summit of Mt. Plenty (Socialism). It looks to me, from history, that man cut that rope which bound him to his camel long ago, and has proceeded beautifully ever since without her aid or suggestion; while she still lies on that sand bank, chewing her quid of reflection, and wondering where the spring of perpetual youth is located.

When the winds of Socialism have dried up the little mudpuddle which has reflected her charms so many centuries, she will be out of a job, and will look up to see where she is "at" and what has become of that silly shadow and, in doing so she will discover that she is alone and without a master.

When she makes this discovery she will not be long in measuring the distance between herself and her keeper. This accomplished, she will soon drift to her proper sphere, and her progress from then on will be swift and certain. Then will the shadows and clouds which so long have enveloped this beautiful world in darkness and gloom, be swept away, as if by magic and sorrow and trouble will be no more. Then and not till then, will man and woman, the king and queen of creation, for the first time in the history of the race, stand proud and erect, in the full glory of manhood and womanhood, the embodiment of mutual and physical perfection; a fitting monument to the wisdom and discretion of a just and wise creator. This is the final goal of Socialism.

Hattie F. Hadley.
Lynden, Wash.

foolish such hope is.

All the "aristocratic" women of the land are arrayed against you, against the mill workers of Little Falls and other places of its kind. All the ease, plenty, joy of living, posing for fame and beauty, are the outgrowth of that which labor brings into their white and dainty hands. Hands that are merciless to crush you and yours as though you were a puff ball to be played with for their amusement. Do you think they would kill the goose that lays the golden egg? Never!

Then what remains? The workers must strive for their own salvation. They must see to it that girls have girdloids; that women have life without prostitution, the sure and fatal outcome of the present conditions; that maidens and happy wives and mothers are free from grinding want and nerve-racking toil, so that they will have something to give their children and can rear them in purity and love—not for the dollar they will bring into the household.

All of this must come from the workers themselves. And as they are in a large majority it need not be long in the coming, if each one will take up the work, study to understand and then fight for that which is the salvation of civilization and each individual.

Think of it, Madam Moneybags sits in her cushioned pew of a Sunday and worships her "God" in the silks and laces that are reeking with the flesh and blood, the youth and beauty, the hope and virtue of so many other women whom her "God" is supposed to have created. Do not let her "reform" far blind you to the fact that she is insensible to the conditions around her and fights against their being changed with all the strength of her interested soul. She sniffs poverty as she does the foul odor of a cesspool, and while she has no idea of letting herself fall into that odor, she is well aware that to keep her own rare perfume she must crowd down those other "common" creatures whom she will not even name.

Out upon her and her "reforms." Learn and study how to have your own assert yourselves by helping others less wise to come into their heritage of womanhood, and it will be but a brief period before the Socialist Commonwealth will wipe out the present conditions of Little Falls and all places of its damnable kind.

Rhoda M. Brooks.

REPORT OF GENERAL SECRETARY TRAUTMANN

THE DELEGATES ASSEMBLED IN CONVENTION, AND THE MEMBERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD, SEPT 17, 1906.

(Continued from last week.)

to handle and administer the affairs of that organization, no endeavors were made to get in direct touch with the accredited officers of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, until official communications were received relating to a strike of members in Stratford, Canada, and containing inquiries whether the society was still considered a component part of what was known as the A. L. U.

In the correspondence between those interested, suggestions were made purporting to merge the society with the Metal Department on terms to be mutually agreed upon.

The final answer received was, that the former could not remain, or consider itself a part of the I. W. W., and since that time all connections have ceased, although, as a matter of justice, the last general secretary-treasurer of the A. L. U. made the demand that a claim for strike benefits from members of the society be recommended as legitimate, which was subsequently done.

Four thousand wage earners, who were then members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, were thus lost to the Industrial Workers of the World, and it devolved upon those intrusted with the administration of affairs to build up a new organization, and with the assistance of those to whom principles are everything and numbers a secondary consideration, to advance to the hundreds of thousands of toilers in the industries comprising the Metal Department the hundred and more reasons why their place was in the militant organization of industrial workers.

In no other industries has the curse of craft division and craft pride worked so much harm and injury as among the workers in these industries. There is no workshop in the United States where the broken courage of one while aggressive wage earners has not a tale of woe to narrate, and yet there is not a better field upon which the seed of industrial unionism had been planted so profusely since years.

In Schenectady, to-day the stronghold of the Metal Department, it was primarily due to the indefatigable and untiring efforts and propaganda of a few then denounced and castigated supporters of the S. T. and L. A. believers in the principles upon which said organization had been founded, that thousands are to-day in the I. W. W.

The communications received from those, who realized that after the days of destructive and missionary work, there had to follow a propaganda of construction, form a markstone in the ground-work of the Industrial Workers of the World, and without fear of contradiction must it be stated that the preparatory training of the workers in that community before, by the supporters of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance, constitutes a chapter for itself in the history of the American labor movement.

There was no common ground upon which the varying factions of labor's hosts could unite for concerted action prior to the first convention of the Industrial Workers of the World; not a place where they could combine for the struggle against the only foe, and when the Industrial Union manifesto was issued an agency had to be found which would act as intermediary between all those who, aroused by the constant agitation and the pressure of economic slavery, were longing for the moment when they could join hands and embrace the proletarians of all industries in one solidified body.

A body outside the union movement was in this case the medium by which the propaganda was started. It was the Schenectady branch of the "Universal Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Society," an organization founded on Socialist principles, which through its members, volunteered to carry on the first propaganda for the commencing of the constructive work of the Industrial Workers of the World. The support given by that organization to the Industrial Union movement prior to the first convention is recorded by a financial measure, but the amount of work done by them before the first union of metal employees in Schenectady became attached to the Metal Department, will never be measured in its full value and scope. The Industrial Workers of the World membership later took the work out of the sphere of that organization, but the history of this first year of work would not be complete were we to deny credit to those forces, unknown though who by the seamstress which only firm convictions in principles implanted are preparing the great movements which, in their wake, generate the massive motive powers by which systems of society disappear to give place to others in the onward march to a higher plane of civilization.

To-day the members of the Metal Department

comprise the most promising and progressive element in the I. W. W., and in the rejoicing over this fact the mistakes made in the beginning may be overlooked, and as the members of that department are fully able to watch the affairs of that part of the I. W. W., and keep it intact as the forceful raiming instrument in the storm against the citadels of capitalism, all who participated in the upbuilding of that department have the assurance that with similar tactics adopted everywhere larger masses of wage earners will come together on "the industrial as well as on the political field," and be fully equipped with the necessary qualifications of being able to "take and holding all that labor produces."

The Transportation Department.

From days made memorable by the glorious combat of railway workers under the leadership of a Martin Irons, although they were, apparently only subdued by the combined powers of capitalist masters and unscrupulous labor lieutenants of that class, on through the period when labor history was made in hours and days by those unflinching militants of the American Railway Union, again to be defeated by the same combined powers, until the epoch when, with renewed vigor, railway workers, organized under the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, made a capitalist class government of Canada tremble, but again defeated by exactly the same means as had caused all former routs of militant workers, the employees in the railway service, the paramount part of the transportation industry, have time and again demonstrated in America, as well as others in the same branch of industrial activity in other lands have repeatedly shown, that they, when once permeated by a feeling of general class solidarity, when once inspired and moved by a higher ideal, when instinctively linked together by a consideration of the mutual interests of all engaged in the same service, were ready to rise in rebellion when oppression reached a point that further endurance would have meant submission to abject slavery, with the powers of capitalist masters and the state institutions subservient to their command to quell and crush any attempt at resistance.

The many human wrecks and victims bearing testimony of the past heroic self-sacrifices of transportation workers should carry a warning to all true and loyal members of the working class and remind them that the restoration of confidence of all railway and transportation workers in a militant, revolutionary labor organization and its mission is a paramount duty, lest the efforts in other industrial fields be wrought in vain, for disaster and despair again, as inevitable sequences, would tell in ghastly scriptures a neglect dearly paid for.

The Transportation Department of the Industrial Workers of the World should embody in all its detail, construction and methods all that was found to be an advantage to the workers in the past battles with the capitalist class, and it could reasonably be expected that all such bad features as had spelled defeat, a result of division and the abominable reign of plebs leaders, should have been expunged altogether. No field that looked so devastated as this on which the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class had worked their desolating game, and despair, and sullen resignation seemed to hang like a dark cloud over the millions engaged in that line of industrial activity.

Capitalism may beget its own grave-diggers so it is said—but the many chief-controlled brotherhoods of railway employees, and other old organizations of transportation workers, offered only the coffins and graves in which to bury the uprightness, the working-class spirit, of those scores of thousands whose crippled and mangled bodies are living monuments of a deranged social system with all its horrors for the wealth producers.

Although the transportation workers are eagerly listening to the message of Industrial Unionism,—all those men engaged in railway service, on steamship lines, on wharves, land, shore and sea ostensibly longing to be organized in a compact body, yet the bitter, appalling experiences of the past rendered them pessimistic too many of the best men have been victimized, brutalized, and driven overland, as marked prey to the master's iron rule, and the labor fakir's deceitful grin.

The Transportation Department ought to be to-day the strongest part of the Industrial Workers of the World! It is not! It will not be!

Instituted as a department of the I. W. W., although not having enough members to justify an existence as an autonomous department,—continued as a fraud, with outrageous wrongs perpetrated against the best men in that service, it must continue to be a fraud, at the cost of throwing back into despair

thousands of struggling proletarians, unless this convention and the entire membership, as well as those outraged members to the Transportation Department are wide awake to their duties to the working class, and will not fear to brand with eternal ignominy all those responsible for the conditions, and the wrongs heaped mountain high added to sneer and derision, on those many who in the past have loyally fought with the members of their class and never have proven traitors, and the many more, who in response to the call for united action have, immediately after the first convention of the Industrial Workers of the World rallied around the banner of those who pointed to them the road to their emancipation.

Delegates, so serious, so all-important in this matter that only the radical, uncompromising act of complete purification will destroy every vestige of corruption and graft in that department!

In vain have toilers, working every day with the sweat of their brow, endeavored to obtain justice, nay only a fair investigation; not in vain should they ask for justice from this convention. Either you help to lay a solid foundation for the organizing and educational work among the transportation workers, or you will, by neglecting this paramount duty, remove all justification for the existence of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Let other so-called labor organizations, controlled by the capitalist class, cover up the many sins committed against the proletarian class, so that oppressors be able to prolong and continue the game of deluding and keeping divided and ignorant the workers, but this organization has everything to gain for the wealth producers and absolutely nothing to lose by demonstrating, that by the collective intelligence of the membership it is able to safeguard itself against the invasion of any grafting, corrupting and destructive elements, as have been a curse on the labor movements of this country in the past.

The United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, a few years ago militant organization, installed itself as the Transportation Department of the I. W. W., it being accepted as a fact that said Brotherhood was an integral part of the American Labor Union and had at the day of installment 2,087.

Represented by as many votes at the I. W. W. convention it could reasonably be expected that the department, if to be such, would at least pay tax for as many members as installed, as well as for supplies. The following statement, containing undisputable figures, will show conclusively what a drag-chain this so-called department proved to be, and how, as facts became known, that department, in order to keep idlers at their jobs, caused a constant drain on the general treasury of the I. W. W.

(To Be Continued Next Week.)

THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST CONGRESS AT ROME.

(Continued from page 2.)

Reformers and syndicalists alike, who came to the congress openly declaring unity to be the greatest possible evil, finally agreed with evidence of the greatest pleasure upon unity. Both elements came to this conclusion simply because they realized that the possibilities for propaganda of their ideas within a united party were much greater than could be secured through independent organization. For that reason both factions accentuated the fact of the purely Socialist nature of the Congress. The party was brought back to the basic principles from which it had strayed. The reformers took pains to give expression through several of their speakers, to their opinion, that, beyond all doubt, the emancipation of the working class must be attained through the expropriation of the expropriators. Aye, more. To them Socialism, viewed as anti-militarism and republicanism, had struck so deep a note in their innermost being, that they did not conceive it as essential to further emphasize this phase of the matter. And as to the syndicalists—they declared themselves as being in perfect agreement under certain conditions, with the political tactics and reforms of the social democracy.

The triumph of the middle party over the extreme right and left is a triumph of the intelligence of the rank and file of the party. It is the victory of the idea that at this time it would be not only arrant folly, but a crime, to disrupt a movement so laboriously built up and to put in its place the fruitless strife of political factions.

South Norwalk Vote.

So, Norwalk, Conn., November 9.—The S. L. P. polled 22 votes; the S. P. 1. Two years ago the S. L. P. polled 53 votes.

Ground Broken In Avis, Pa.

Avis, Pa., November 7.—Two votes were cast here for the S. L. P.; one for the S. P.

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LITTLE FALLS

SUGGESTIVE OF RABBLING CASCADES, BUT IN REALITY A FACTORY HELL.

Little Falls, what pictures of laughing, babbling, tossing cascades of foaming water the name calls up to the imagination. It sounds like merry girlhood, happy youth and homes of plenty and joy. The town is situated in a ravine which has ribbons of railways and canals running through it, and rocky sides rise around, surrounded by hills. The ravine is the home of cotton mills, woolen mills and various other industries which give employment to the dwellers of these hovels that are clinging to the sides of the rocks, while the master class supported by the workers have stately mansions on the hills nearer the blue sky and "God."

How the alluring mind-picture fades as the reality breaks upon the sight. It needs but a casual observer to estimate what manufacture for profit's sake methods are doing for the people here. The hovel against the rocks tell their own tales, and so do the mansions that are overlooking and guarding the escape of the victims below. It is a veritable spider and fly scheme, worthy the minds that conceived and carry out the "profitable business."

Night and day the factory and mills are swallowing up the lives and hopes of hundreds of workers. Day and night the ceaseless toil goes forward, turning out a glad stream of "prosperity"—"prosperity" that is made up of child labor, ignorance and prostitution. The nervous force required drains the possibility of the workers being lifted out of the conditions which the spider has spun around them.

It is only a typical sight to see old, tottering women who should be having the rest of honored old age, tremblingly being swallowed up in the maw of a capitalist slave-pen. Young girls who have never had any girlhood; women old before they tasted the joy of mature womanhood; and the debased and coarsened who have sold their all into prostitution to enjoy the dance of death—for a full meal. This, this, is the reality,

and over all presides Mr. Robert McKennon, one of the leading lights of the Republican party. He it is who has the damnable genius to make those ignorant, unhappy workers believe their interests and his are the same.

The same, ye gods! His to bleed and crush; theirs to give, give, give, until death ends their side of the "mutual interest." Would there was one with pen dipped in fire could write the truth upon the hearts of the women of this broad land. Would that the burning truth could make such smart and pain and awaken conscience until there was reared such a sentiment against these wrongs that women would arise and purify these false and hellish conditions.

"Wrong!" exclaims Mrs. Easy. "Why, it is the same all over the world, and what is so common must be natural and right!"

The very argument shows how shamefully present conditions have blunted the sense of morality and right. It is the same old argument that prevailed about chattel slavery. It is like the ridiculous fatality of the old deacon who arose and in a sanctimonious voice said: "Brothers and sisters, I believe that whatever is to be will be whether it ever is or not."

The world is teeming with women "reformers," from the one who plan new styles of dress the Civic Federations and proud members of various "Auxiliaries" that are housed in stately Club Houses and elaborately furnished suits of rooms. But do you think, oh you women workers, that all or any of these "reforms" mean anything better for you and yours? Not a bit of it.

Why, do you not know that the very Club Houses and rich furnishings of these resorts for "fine and representative ladies" are the product of your labor—from which you would be spurned as a dog—this being so, do you think those same "ladies" are going to work against their own interests and by placing you above them, cut off their own luxuries? Fie, upon you, that you do not see how

WEEKLY PEOPLE

4 and 6 New Roads Street, New York.
P. O. Box 1876.
Published Every Saturday by the
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Entered as second-class matter at the
New York Post-Office, July 13, 1900.
Owing to the limitations of this office,
correspondents are requested to keep a copy
of their articles, and not to expect them to
be returned. Consequently, no stamps
should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:	
In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	30,594
In 1900	34,191
In 1904	34,172

Subscription price of the Weekly People:
50 cents a year; 25 cents for six
months.

Were we been observing men, we
should find seven-tenths condemned
to a life of perpetual half-hunger,
ceaselessly exhausting themselves in
strange and sterile efforts whereby
they never shall profit, but only shall
render more complex and inexplicable
still, the life of the idle.

—MAETERLINCK.

THE HILLQUIT CAMPAIGN.

The campaign conducted this year
by the Socialist party in the Ninth
Congress District of this city was
a blot on the good name of Socialism;
it marked "the limit."

It is not the romance of presenting
as "the devoted friend of the work-
man" a man, who, to go no further
back in his labor record, only the other
day plucked the workingman Jeremiah
a \$35 fee out of the small sum that
the poor fellow needed from the sav-
ings bank to bury his wife and support
his little children, notwithstanding
Hillquit was paid by Jeremiah's or-
ganization to act as its lawyer, and not-
withstanding all the work done in the
case was to get the money out of the
bank;—it is not the farce of setting
up such a man as the "trusting friend
of the Union," notwithstanding Jerem-
iah's Cigar-makers' Union, for one, im-
mediately withdrew from the body that
Hillquit is the lawyer of, and did
so with scathing denunciations of the
man's labor-plucking practices;—it is
not the grotesqueness of advertising
as "a man of integrity" an individual
whom other labor papers have justly
compared to Falstaff in point of pol-
troonery;—it is not the buffoonery of
recommending such a nonentity to the
Russian Jewish voters as the man
who, if elected to Congress, would
bankrupt the Czar's Government and
insure the success of the Russian
Revolution;—it is none of these ab-
surdities that constitutes the actual
disgrace of that campaign. There was
worse.

People holding certain principles
must, to a certain extent, be judged
from their own premises. Untenable
as is the position that there is a cer-
tain mystic power in the ballot to
pay the capitalist class, and rear the
Socialist Republic, regardless of the
might to enforce such a ballot, there
are people who sincerely hold the
opinion. That there are individuals
who merely exploit this notion to ad-
vertise themselves, and for other self-
seeking purposes, does not affect the
sincerity of others. Enough others
there are, sincere in the delusion.
Nevertheless, even delusions reach a
point where they gas. Even the most
wildly raving ballot-maniac will draw
the line, somewhere. Even such
maniacs must admit that the mystic
power above referred to cannot reside
in any and all ballots, whosoever
they may come from. The ballot-
maniac may have confidence in bal-
lots gained even under false pretence.
He may imagine that, regardless of
the person elected, if the ballots cast
for him are cast for a principle, that
somehow is Socialistic, the mystic vir-
tue will assert itself. Not the in-
stance, however, of ballot-maniacs will
hold that any such mystic virtue could
possibly reside in a ballot that is cast
by one who believes in capitalism, who
either would uphold capitalism as it
is, or would like simply to reform it.

THE HILLQUIT CAMPAIGN FISH-
ED FOR CAPITALIST VOTES. A
neatly printed paste-board circular,
gotten up in the approved politician's
style, gives instructions "How to Elect
Morris Hillquit to Congress." The in-
structions were as follows:

"If you want to vote for Hearst and
Hillquit, make a cross in the circle
of the Democratic party column, or the
column of the Independence League,
and also make a cross in the square
in front of the name of Morris Hill-
quit."

"If you want to vote for Hughes and
Hillquit, make a cross in the circle of
the Republican party column, and also
make a cross in the square in front
of the name of Morris Hillquit."

That is not what Marx styles "par-
liamentary idiosyncrasy"—that is corruption

—it is the limit. To deeper depths a
campaign, conducted under the name
of "Socialism," never sank. The cir-
cular bears the impress of "The Pro-
fessional League," but it was peddled
by Hillquit's campaign managers, and
never was disowned by him.

All honor to the proletariat of the
Ninth Congressional district that the bulk
of them left such a defamer of the
Cause of Socialism with so markedly
small a vote that he has his disgrace
only to wrap himself in.

MORTGAGING THE NATION.

Wealth is the product of labor, but
property is the creature of society.
Seeing that property is made up of
wealth it follows that "property" im-
plies a disposition made of the wealth
produced by labor. What the disposi-
tion is that capitalist society makes of
wealth appears glaringly even from the
doctored reports of the Census. From
the Census figures for 1900 it trans-
pires that of the ninety-five billion
dollars worth of wealth produced,
in round figures, nearly seventy bil-
lions is held by an insignificant num-
ber of wholly idle capitalists, the plu-
tocracy; about twenty-two billions is
held by the middle class, which is not
wholly idle; and only slightly more
than three billions is held by the pro-
letariat, the Working Class, which
constitutes the vast majority of the
population. Leaving aside the Work-
ing and the Middle classes, the state-
ment is just that the disposition, which
capitalist society makes of the nation's
wealth, is to turn the bulk of the same
into the "property" of a class that
numbers barely 4 per cent of the peo-
ple. So far, bad enough. The suppli-
mentary Census reports upon the pub-
lic debts—Federal, State, County,
Municipal, etc.—of the United States
in 1902, put even a worse face upon
an already bad enough state of things.

The proverbial traveler from Mars,
who saw the above distribution of the
wealth of the nation, would be war-
ranted to say: "The small 4 per cent
of idle people, in whose class capitalist
society of America vests nearly 74
per cent of the nation's wealth as
"property," must assuredly figure upon
the nation's books as its debtor; and
surely the debt to the nation of that
4 per cent class must be considerable;
no small sum, only a large one, could
adequately pay for the enforcement by
the nation of such institutions as will
turn such a hoard into the property of
a trifling few, who did not contribute
in the slightest towards the raising of
the pile." The Martian traveler would
find himself in error; wholly in error.
The Census figures upon the public
debts of the United States in 1902
reveal the fact that not only does not
the American plutocracy owe the na-
tion a large sum, not only does the
plutocracy not owe the nation a small
sum, but the plutocracy appears upon
the nation's books as its creditor! On
the nation's books the nation appears
as debtor to the class in whose hands
the nation turns nearly 74 per cent of
its wealth into "property!" On the
nation's books the nation appears as
the debtor to its own net beneficiaries
in the huge sum of \$2,789,000,000!—and
the tables show that this debt has
been on the increase since 1880.

Capitalism not only plunders the
present, it plasters a mortgage upon
the backs of future generations. Gen-
erations yet unborn are already mort-
gaged to the Capitalist Class—and the
interest will be levied through blood
flow, unless the nation shake off the
vampire.

THAT "PARADISE" AGAIN.

The first thing that catches the eye on
the cover of the Journal of the Depart-
ment of Labor, regularly issued at Wel-
lington by the government of New Zea-
land, and the September issue of which
has now arrived, is "The Labor Market."
This item leads all others under the head
of "Contents"—probably as evidence and
proof of the respect and power that
Labor enjoys in that "Workman's Para-
dise."

What is the "labor market"? What
does the term imply?

A market is a place where goods,
wares and merchandise, chattels, in
short, are offered for sale and are bought.
Nothing lands in the "market" that is
not a chattel; what is not a chattel finds
no counter on which to be laid in the
market. The term "Bankers' Market"
would be unintelligible; bankers are not
bought and sold, hence a "Bankers Mar-
ket" is an absurd term. So with railroad
kings, merchant princes, mine barons,
capitalists in general. As railroad mag-
nates, merchants, mine owners, in short,
capitalists, are not chattels, they are not
bought and sold, consequently there is
no such thing as a "Capitalist Market."

It is otherwise with leather, pork, cotton,
beef. They are all chattels, hence they
are objects of sale and purchase, and we
have a "Leather Market," a "Pork Mar-
ket," a "Cotton Market," a "Beef Mar-
ket"—and a "Labor Market" as an evi-

dence that Labor, or labor-power, is a
chattel, a merchandise like pork, leather,
beef, etc.

There is another fact that must be ap-
prehended in order to understand well
the full social significance of the term
"Labor Market." The merchandise cattle
may die of the murrain, that does not
bring its owner into his grave with the
murrain; the merchandise cotton may
burn up, that does not reduce its owner
to ashes, and so forth with all other mer-
chandise—except one. Inversely, the
owner, or seller, of the merchandise cat-
tle, cotton, etc., may die, but his mer-
chandise is not affected by his taking-off.
It is so with all other merchandise-owners
—except one. The exception of the mer-
chandise the death of which drags its
owner with it in the grave is the mer-
chandise LABOR-POWER; the exception
of the merchandise-owner, or seller,
whose decease means the simultaneous
decease of his wares is the merchandise
owner WORKINGMAN. Only in the in-
stance of the merchandise labor-power
and of its owner the workingman are
merchandise and owner so closely con-
nected by every fiber that the fate which
overtakes the one overtakes the other,
instantly. Thus labor-power and work-
ingman, the merchandise and its seller
are to all interests and purposes one.

From these two facts—the chattel na-
ture of labor-power, and its identity
with its owner—flows a sociologic fact of
prime importance—WHAT IS SOLD IN
THE LABOR MARKET IS THE WORK-
INGMAN HIMSELF.

In the "Workman's Hells," the work-
ingman is a subject of trade. Should not
a "Workman's Paradise" do better, at
least a little better? That the "Work-
man's Paradise" of New Zealand either
can not, or will not, stand patented by
its leading institution, or main pillar—
just the same as in any other of the al-
terhood of "Workman's Hells."

Gooding seems to be elected, after all,
Governor of Idaho. But fate, which has
thwarted his contemplated legal assas-
sination of Moyer, Haywood and Peti-
bone, seems to pursue him even in the
hour of victory. He—HE, a pillar of
"morality," "law and order," is made to
owe his office to the southern counties
where the Mormons predominate!

President Roosevelt left for Panama
where "the President will personally
look into conditions affecting the em-
ployment of mechanics." Which reminds
one of the despatches from Russia, com-
mon during the war with Japan, to the
effect that "the Czar has left for Libau
where he will personally inspect the bat-
tleships that are to proceed to the
Pacific."

The light thrown by Vincent St. John
upon the slugging plot prepared by Mc-
Cabe, Sherman, Mahoney and Kirkpat-
rick, was brilliant. Addressing the
Miners Union in Butte, Mont, St. John
referred to the fact that that identical
McCabe was convicted on the floor of
the convention of having declared that
the hanging of the Chicago so-called
Anarchists in 1887 "was a good thing."
Such is the McCabe, and such his asso-
ciates. No wonder they are indignant
at the convention that stamped them out.

A week before election the press agent
of the Standard Oil Company sent out
the tip that Henry H. Rogers predicted
Hearst's defeat by 75,000 votes. How did
Rogers come to have the figures down so
fine! How comes it that the rest of the
Hearst ticket is elected? Will Rogers
explain that? Did he slip there? How
came he to slip?

Trautmann's open letter to Kirwan
published in this issue, is the first of
the series of a canonade that is to
tear down for good, and all the mask
behind which a collection of scamps
have been trying to grow fat on the
marrow of the "proletaire rabble," in
emulation of Gompers and Mitchell
who have been growing fat on the
marrow of the "pure and simple rab-
ble."

The divorce proceedings of Anna Gould
continue to make "revelations," and the
revelations continued to be called "scan-
dals." No doubt the trial is making
revelations; that, however, the revela-
tions are scandals is not true. Scandals
are exceptional affairs. There is nothing
exceptional in the turmoil and indecency
of the Castellane household. If all other
Ruling Class households were uncovered,
few if any, in Europe or America, would
be found to be different from that of the
Castellane household. It is the excep-
tions that would be considered "scan-
dals." To the Ruling Class, scandalous
is honor and decency only.

Wholly forgetful of their charge that
Socialism will destroy individuality
and lead to paternalism, the Demo-
cratic and Republican papers are sing-
ing the praises of Mrs. Sage for having
presented the estate's clerks with
sums equal to their salaries. Is ma-
ternism any better than paternalism?

AMENDMENT - VI

Another of the amendments made by
the convention of the I. W. W. and
which merits special consideration is
numbered 14th in the Second Bulletin
of "The Industrial Worker." The amend-
ment provides for the procedure in the
matter of submitting future amend-
ments.

It is a feature of men who have a
limited horizon of experience, to look
at one thing regardless of all others.
Such men could keep any convention
in perpetual session for 12 months at a
stretch considering the improvements
that they would like to make. There
is no document imaginable, turned out
by the hand of man, that is perfect.
Room for improvements there always
is. The question, however, is not,
Can such a document be im-
proved? The question is, What im-
provements are so vital that they
should be made, and what time is there
at the disposal of a convention to give
proper consideration to such proposed
changes, and to their effect upon the
body of the constitution? It is with
a view to put an end to a danger that
is growing in volume that the amend-
ment under consideration was enacted.
As things have been hitherto any one,
let alone half a dozen constitution
geniuses could actually clog the whole
work of a convention. They would
dump a bushel of undigested matter
upon the Committee on Constitution;
the committee would proceed to digest
that; at the next meeting of the con-
vention another batch of proposed
amendments would come in; these new
propositions frequently have the effect
of materially affecting the previous
actions of the committee; the com-
mittee would then have to go over the
previous ground and re-digest the
whole; the next day a fresh batch
would come in and the committee
would again have to go over the whole
field previously covered. Nor is this
all. In the meantime the committee is
making reports to the convention; these
reports are acted upon; the action of
the convention has then virtually to be
reconsidered every time a new set of
proposed amendments comes in. There
was a third feature to the old method.
One man does not know what amend-
ments another proposes; both propose
often substantially the identical thing;
if either knew what the other proposed
he might abstain; not knowing, in-
comes his proposition also. The total
result of the old procedure was to
make the work of the Committee on
Constitution so irksome, voluminous
and involved that it could not be done
properly. All these evils are prevented
by the amendment.

The amendment provides in effect
that no amendments shall be consid-
ered by the convention but such as
shall have been published in "The
Industrial Worker" at least two
months before the meeting of the con-
vention. In this way, everyone who
has an amendment to propose has the
"opportunity" to do so provided his
amendment is sent in in time for pub-
lication within the requisite period;
secondly, no one will send in amend-
ments on subjects that he sees are
covered by previous propositions;
thirdly, the membership knows in ad-
vance what amendments are to be pro-
posed at the convention, and can dis-
cuss these and give directions to their
delegates; finally, and not least, a limit
being thus put to the volume of pro-
posed amendments, and to the time
within which these amendments are to
be offered, the work both of the Com-
mittee on Constitution of the conven-
tion will be so materially simplified
that better results are bound to flow.
By this provision whatever proposed
amendment is considered of much im-
portance could be amply debated in
the columns of "The Industrial Worker."
Such a debate can not choose but
redound to the clarification of the
membership, and also to the spread
of and interest in the official organ.
When this year's convention was ap-
proaching the Editor of "The Industrial
Worker" issued to several contributors
a request for articles on the work be-
fore the convention. The response to
the request was articles of general
interest; none could deal with any con-
crete proposition; there was none such
to be dealt with "before the house."

Amendment VI. is of broad and vast
educational value.

Minister Birrell announces that rifle
practice is to be made part of the
duties in English elementary schools.
This is done because it is found that
the British soldiers are poor marksmen.
The ruling class of England is being
caught in a cleft stick. Without good
marksmen Great Britain is a "Defense-
less Empire." With good marksmen
what will become of the ruling class
which chicanes the people at the hus-
tings?

The People is a good broom to brush
the cobwebs from the minds of the
workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

FLASHLIGHTS OF THE
I. W. W. CONVENTION, 1906

[I shall adopt with regard to the
recent convention of the I. W. W. the
course I adopted with regard to the
Amsterdam Congress two years ago.
Rather than write up a continuous re-
port, which would necessarily have to
be condensed, I shall publish a series
of articles upon several men and
things that figured and took place at
the convention. These articles, to-
gether with the series on the leading
amendments to the constitution adopt-
ed by the convention, will convey a
clear idea of that memorable gathering.
—Daniel De Leon.]

I.

CHARLES O. SHERMAN.

To say that Sherman is a crook, pure
and simple, would be to do the man an
injustice; to say he is a weakling, pure
and simple, would be to do the Move-
ment an injustice. Indeed, in either
case it would be to do the Movement
an injustice. The militants in the
Movement may not, except at their own
peril, be left in blindness upon certain
characters that are bound to crop up,
and bound to give trouble.

Sherman is a weak man, but he also
is cursed with a certain quality that
implies some strength—vainglory. The
vainglorious man can not be wholly
weak. But woe to that man in whom
the vainglory is not coupled with vir-
ility. Only a large amount of virility
can save the vainglorious man. Only
mental and physical fibre can protect
him from being the dupe of flatterers,
and from ultimately running amuck—
to his own undoing.

That Sherman is a weak man he
gave numerous proofs of at the con-
vention. Cronin drove him to the
outrage of automatically appointing a
committee on credentials, of turning
his back upon the wishes of the dele-
gates, and of summarily adjourning
the convention to the afternoon; the
indignation that he saw his conduct
had aroused took the starch out of
him; he rushed to Trautmann weebe-
gone, asked if he had done wrong and
what he could do to retrieve himself.
I find him in that mood an hour later
and succeed in securing his approval of
a system of procedure to be adopted
with regard to the report of his com-
mittee on credentials, and at the after-
noon session he accepted my motion
and it went through; the very next
morning, when the procedure, thus es-
tablished on the previous afternoon,
was violently opposed by McMullen,
Mahoney, McCabe and Cronin, Sher-
man, then in the chair, began to take
backwater; appealed to me on the
floor of the convention to tear himself
away from the evil geniuses that had
fastened upon him, he straightened up
again and supported the procedure.
On one occasion, he was acting crawl-
ingly conciliatory towards the revolu-
tionary delegates; McCabe sent word
to him, he called Mahoney into the
chair, he and McCabe withdrew to a
contiguous room, and, within 6 minutes
by my watch, he returned, took the
floor and made a violent, frenzied
scream-owl attack upon the same
delegates. Incidentally I may here re-
mark that it was at that convention,
and it was Sherman as an orator,—I
shall later return to the man's fatal
vainglory regarding his oratorical
powers—that first illustrated to me the
pithiness of the Shakespearean warn-
ing not to "tear a passion to tatters."
But to return. One moment—when-
ever the vote of Ryan, or St. John, or
of some other delegate, who was
known not to be of the Socialist Trade
& Labor Alliance contingent to the
I. W. W., gave his side the majority on
some inconsequential motion,—Sher-
man would become puffed up and over-
bearing, going on one occasion so far
as to forget himself by walking over
to me and petulantly saying: "What
do you think now of 'political unity'—
'is further away than ever!'" and the
next moment, when on some matter of
importance the revolutionary or indus-
trialist element plumped its vote, as it
did regularly against reaction, he
would again collapse into despondency.
He read his flimsy report in the pose
and tone of a conquering hero, or of a
Jupiter laying down the law from
Olympian heights. What could have
happened just before to puff him up so
I can not imagine. When, however, he
saw the marked coldness with which
the report was received, he walked
over to me and with looks almost pit-
iful to behold, asked what I thought
of his report, was it not thorough? did I
like it? I told him the report was woe-
fully deficient in recommendations. He
pricked up his ears, and rushed into the
adjoining room to which he frequently
retreated. About a quarter of an hour
later he reappeared holding several
slips of paper in his hands, and in-
formed the convention that he had a
large number of recommendations to
make, would have them ready the

next morning and wished them printed
together with his report. I have notes
enough on this head for a couple of
columns. The instances mentioned
should suffice. I now believe what I
was told by several Western delegates
that, before addressing a meeting, it
was Sherman's custom on his Western
trip to inquire whether the working-
men were radical or conservative. If
told they were radical, he would make
what he considered a radical speech;
if told they were conservative, he
would out-Gompers Gompers in reac-
tion. Such is the weakness, mental as
well as physical, of Sherman that the
man is a feather driven by the cross
gales of the Labor Movement.

Would, for Sherman's sake, he were
nothing but a feather. His weakness
would keep him out of posts of danger.
His vanity, however, thrusts him for-
ward to his ruin—and the no little
annoyance of the Movement. The crow
in the fable drops to the ground the
cheese he holds in his beak, owing to
his desire to exhibit his sweet voice to
the flattering fox below. The injury
to the crow ends with the loss of his
cheese, and what is a loss to him is
positive gain to the fox. The vainglory
of Sherman, however, causes his ruin
without tangible advantage to his
flatterers. Upon the exceptionally
weak ground of Sherman's character
and mind the officialdom of the Social-
ist party dropped the seed of their
adulation. If that ground had been
simply weak the seed would have
dropped harmless, like seed in a qua-
g mire without a speck of earth to take
root in; the ground being not wholly
a quagmire, the seed took root, and
shot up poisonously.

Whatever may be said in favor of
tangible fractions of the rank and file
of the Socialist party, unquestionable
is the fact that, with very few excep-
tions, the officialdom of the party con-
sists of an element from which the
Working Class has nothing to expect
but a specialized form of exploitation.
This element would fain have the So-
cialist Republic established; who
would not, unless he be a militant in
the ranks of the plutocracy? Never-
theless, due to their training—some
being the product of craft Unionism,
others the product of the frayed-out
middle class—they have no concep-
tion of the nature of Socialism. They
have no inkling of the fact that So-
cialism is the Movement of the
WORKING CLASS. Where they do
not downright despise them, at least,
place no faith upon the proletariat.
Like true craft Unionists and bour-
geois, the horizon of their mind is
bounded by bourgeois thought. To the
bourgeois, the petty measure of whose
aspirations are contained in the cupful
of "Reform," the ballot is all sufficient;
in the schemes of such folks the pro-
letariat figures only as voting cattle for
its politician herders. Needless to say
that, in the eye of such folks, the eco-
nomic organization of workmen is
silly, at best good only as convenient
coralls in which to round up votes on
election day, and appropriations for
political campaigns, or for some pri-
vate scheme. Needless to say that, to
such folks, the mission of Unionism
is a closed book, and that the
rise of the I. W. W. was correctly in-
terpreted as the knell of their doom.
The officialdom of the Socialist party
set about averting the threatened
danger. The method was to flatter
Sherman out of his senses. They made him
believe he was an orator able to do
what Debs does, and he was enough
of a simpleton to repeat it to others,
and to indicate that he might give up
his place in the I. W. W. and start lec-
turing tours. They stuffed him with
the notion that his popularity would be
boundless, if he would only put an
extinguisher upon the revolutionists,
I. e., the Industrialists, and the weak-
ling tried the trick. They did even
more. But the time is not yet ripe to
make the revelation. Such a revela-
tion, when made, must be specific. The
season to be specific upon this head
has not quite arrived. Suffice it to say
Sherman fell in heels over head.

In this whole dark conspiracy the
Socialist party officialdom played foul
with Sherman. Even if their scheme
succeeded, they knew full well they
could not "deliver the goods"; and
Sherman would be left wrecked on the
beach of the Movement. Twenty-four
hours after the meeting of the con-
vention it was evident the scheme had
failed. It became more evident every
day. The evidence of failure did not,
however, call off the flatterers. What
it did was to reconcile them to the
prospect of a trifling gain—the pros-
pect of causing whatever little dis-
credit they could to fall upon the
I. W. W., even if the price paid there-

(Continued on page 5.)

UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JO-
NATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I am a
Socialist, but—
UNCLE SAM (mockingly)—How fa-
miliar that tune is.

B. J.—Familiar or unfamiliar, 'tis a
true tune. I am a Socialist, but the
Socialist Labor Party is no good. I'm
going to stay with the Democratic party.

U. S.—I thought the tune was fami-
liar; there isn't a fakir in the land but
hums it; some with the variation that
they are going to stay with the Re-
publicans.

B. J.—That may be, but I'm no fakir
for all that. I am a Socialist; fakirs
say they are Socialists, but they are
not; but I am.

U. S.—Have you anything more to
say?

B. J.—Yes, I have this more to say:
The Socialist Labor Party is no good—

U. S.—You said that once before.

B. J.—And I was going to tell you
why it is no good.

U. S.—Let us hear.

B. J.—It moves tdo slowly.

U. S. opens his eyes.

B. J.—You won't deny that would
you?

U. S. looks at him.

B. J.—Now will you deny that?

U. S.—If you want to travel to a cer-
tain place, and there is only a stage-
coach to take you, would you call stage-
coach rapid travel?

B. J.—No; stage coach is slow travel.

U. S.—Would you say that the stage-
coach is too slow a way of travelling?

B. J.—If there is no other conveyance,
I wouldn't say that.

U. S.—Slowness and fastness are, ac-
cordingly relative terms, are they not?
The stage-coach is fast travel if the al-
ternative is to foot it, eh?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—It is slow travel only if there
is faster means of transportation avail-
able, eh?

B. J.—Yes; but what has that got to
do with your S. L. P.?

U. S.—One more question, and I'll
tell you. If you want to go to a certain
place and the only transportation avail-
able thither is a stage coach would you,
for the sake of fast travelling, jump into
a fast train that runs in the opposite di-
rection?

B. J.—No, I wouldn't.

U. S.—And you wouldn't call the stage
no good, eh?

B. J.—No; it is good enough for my
ultimate purpose.

U. S.—And what would you think of
the man who, wanting to go to that cer-
tain place, said: "The stage is no good,
it is too slow; I'm going to take the
train—"

B. J.—But there is no train in that
case!

U. S.—Just so. If he wants a train
he would have to travel in the opposite
direction. What would you say of the
man?

B. J. looks suspiciously at U. S.

U. S.—I'll tell you: You would say
of him that he had not made up his
mind where he wanted to go—

B. J.—Exactly.

U. S.—Or that he was an elaborate
blockhead gotten up regardless of ex-
pense. Would you not?

B. J.—Hem—hem—

U. S.—Out with it, yes or no?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—That's your case. Take your
choice. Either you are not a Socialist,
and don't know where you want to go,
or you are a Socialist, but being an elab-
orate blockhead gotten up regardless of
expense, for the sake of more rapid
travel you are willing to be taken to
where you don't want to go. The S. L.
P. doesn't move very fast, true; but, So-
cialismward, there is NOTHING ELSE
moving at all. The only other things
moving, do more swiftly, but without

CORRESPONDENCE

CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS. REMINDS THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.

THE BREWERS AND THE A. F. OF L.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In Columbus there are over four hundred union brewers affiliated with the A. F. of L., and every one of them that I have spoken to since the formation of the I. W. W., not only favors it, but say they are in favor of joining the I. W. W. in a body, "as soon as the I. W. W. develops more strength." This reason is given on the basis that the brewers do not derive their strength and solidarity, alone from their own numbers being skillful enough to force their bosses into submission, on the contrary they claim that the brewery bosses fear a boycott of organized labor more than a scarcity of labor.

Such arguments as these might have held good ten years ago, for the following reason: Ten years ago the A. F. of L. showed signs of holding its own. It is true it made no progress, neither did it go backward; it was at a standstill, but to-day how is it?

A labor union is judged by its battles with the capitalist class. If it is successful in a combat with its foe it is judged accordingly, and is given due credit. The record of the A. F. of L. in the last few years is one continuous series of disastrous defeats.

Here in Columbus, the Manufacturers' Association has completely crushed out of existence unionism in the iron industry. Three years ago the pattern makers were out on strike; the union molders and machinists scabbed. The result was so many pattern makers' union in Columbus.

Six months ago the entire molders of this city struck. Their places are all filled. Result is, no more molders' union in Columbus. Brewers look out! Two of your forts, called "union boycotts" are gone in this city. Next will come the machinists and then what . . . then the capitalist class will have clear sailing and wipe your union out of existence.

Take warning in time; pull out of the A. F. of L. Get on the I. W. W. iron clad steamer that is plowing its way through the roughest sea that ever roared.

Yours, O. C. Steinboff.
Columbus, O., November 2.

LONG ON ASSERTION, BUT SHORT ON SUBSTANTIATION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In the "Miners' Magazine" for November 1, Chas. O. Sherman, the decapitated president of the I. W. W. says that "all of the large unions in New York City have passed suitable resolutions and pledged their undying support to the general administration of the I. W. W. and in support of your president." Sherman carefully refrains from naming these unions. The fact is they do not exist, except in Sherman's disordered imagination. This, as usual, makes him long on assertion but short on substantiation.

Member I. W. W., Industrial Union 244.
New York City, November 6.

S. P. "PROPAGANDA"

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The other evening I met an old Bayonne friend, who is to some extent a sympathizer with Socialism, he asked if the Socialist Labor Party had a ticket in the field this year; I told him yes. He said that was strange as he had been told that the Socialist Labor Party had gone to pieces. Asked where he got such information, my friend said that some ten days ago or two weeks ago he had attended a socialist meeting, held in Waka's Hall, in the Fairway section of Bayonne, at which a Mr. Wanhope was the principal speaker, and Mr. Max Fackert, a candidate on the Socialist party ticket, also appeared. At the close of the meeting this Bayonne man had engaged Mr. Fackert in conversation, and asked him if there were still two socialist parties in the field, and Mr. Fackert, out of his vivid imagination, said no, there was not, that the S. L. P. had gone to pieces.

My friend asked if that was the outcome of the Unity Conference between the two parties, of which he had heard. "Oh, no," said Mr. Fackert, "that affair came to nothing. Mr. De Leon, the S. L. P. autocrat wanted to dominate and rule the whole business and our people wouldn't stand for it, and their whole party here has since gone to pieces."

I told my friend that he could judge for himself as to the truthfulness of Mr. Fackert's statements on the following evidence: First, that he would get an S. L. P. ballot on election day, as proof that the S. L. P. is very much alive and enjoying vigorous health; second, the proceedings of the Unity Conference, attested by his own organization, would prove that the revolutionists, S. P. and S. L. P., had come to a practically unanimous agreement as to the proper basis for the unification of all genuine socialists; and, said I, it were the revolution-

ists in his own party that Mr. Fackert really meant, when he spoke of De Leon autocracy. I then informed him that the Fackerts had voted down the findings of the Unity Conference while the S. L. P. and the S. P. revolutionists had voted for the findings.

My friend wondered why Mr. Fackert should have so thoroughly misrepresented things to him.

W. W.
Bayonne, N. J., November 1.

A CARD FROM ALBERT RYAN.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In the issue of the Daily People of the 26th, inst., I notice a communication from John Desmond, of Pittsburg in which he states that I voted against the seating of delegate Sims. I would ask that this be corrected because I voted to seat Sims. The vote as I find in my memoranda was 343 for and 260 against.

When the question of seating Sims was under discussion it was urged that his card showed him in arrears but a telegram was read to the convention from the secretary of his local stating that he was paid up. I went across the hall to the delegate and he assured me that he had paid his dues and that the secretary had no stamps on hand at the time. On returning to my seat I met a lady member of his local and asked permission to have her make a verbal statement to the delegates which she did, certifying that he was a member in good standing. We have the evidence of two delegates to show that delegate McDonald openly stated that he would vote in favor of Sims because De Leon voted against him and that he did so vote regardless of the merits of the case. On my request delegate Sims mailed his card to the local at Milwaukee and on the following day it was returned with an explanatory letter together with the stamps for which he had previously paid, thus showing that he was duly entitled to a seat in the convention.

Trusting you will give this correction space, I am,

Yours sincerely,
Albert Ryan.
Jerome, Arizona, October 30.

THE PROPER SPIRIT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The election spirit of the Socialist Labor Party was well reflected in the meeting of Branch One, Section Kings County, held at Weber's Hall last night. While the members present (and there were quite a few, the meeting being a very well attended one), were fully concerned with the election, distributing watchers' certificates and making arrangements to collect the returns, they were more deeply interested in a program of agitation for the coming winter; in fact, most of the evening was devoted to a discussion of ways and means to recruit new members, and otherwise advance the principles and tactics of the Socialist Labor Party. The discussion was a comprehensive one, calm and thoughtful throughout, and marked with unanimity of spirit and decision.

Bolled down in brief, it was, first, the sense of the meeting that the County Committee should undertake a series of lectures throughout the city, in conjunction with the branches and sympathetic organizations. The branch delegate to the county committee was instructed to bring this matter before that body and carry it to a successful issue, if possible. Second, the opinion prevailed that canvassing for the party press should be actively resumed; and, third, the monthly distribution of leaflets should be inaugurated. In fewer words, the slogan of the branch was an active educational campaign for the purposes of organization.

It was believed that this three-fold campaign, if well pursued, will result in immense good. It will give the members work fitted to their varying capacities; and overcome the dry rot and perfunctoriness that threatens too many organizations. It is commended to all the other branches, who are urged to push it along. Brooklyn should show the proper S. L. P. spirit all down the line. With it in force we cannot fail to advance the great movement for the emancipation of the working class, i. e., Socialism.

Brooklynian.
New York, November 6.

AN AWE-INSPIRING SCENE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In Bulletin No. 2, issued lately from I. W. W. headquarters, there appear two items in Sherman's Expense account connected with the Toronto visit in May of "your president." These items are, Hotel—\$3.50—organizing incidentals—\$2. As to the first item, Sherman arrived in Toronto on Saturday evening, May 5th, and left Sunday evening, May 6th. It can therefore be said that "your president" held up his end in Toronto at the

expense of the "impecunious" and "scabby" rank and file.

The other item is interesting "organizing incidentals." I am not aware, and no one here is, of "your president" doing any organizing, incidental or otherwise, in this city. The only way in which this \$2 charge can be explained satisfactory is this dramatic incident in which the only actors were "your president" and an "impecunious scab," the act itself I only learned of lately. Following the usual "amenities of polite society," the "impecunious scab" asked "your president" to have a smile. "Your president" was willing and a nickel soft quaff was ordered by the "impecunious scab" and "your president" a thirty-five cent. The former was thereupon stricken dumb with awe and wonder at the magnificence of this "new occasion," the drinking of a 35 cent wet by a supposed wage slave. It was indeed a weird spectacle to the "scab" (he really sells himself for less than the figure set by "your president," et al., that is \$5 per day); and he says that on that account he does mind the paying for the presidential quaff.

The question is with us in Toronto, was the privilege granted to the "impecunious scab" of observing how the "concrete expression of the I. W. W." could swallow a 35 cent wet if somebody else paid for it worth \$2. We certainly know that the wage slave is an "impecunious and scabby" member of society but we also realize that it would be the ties and tomato can for us all if many "your presidents" were on parade.

The item will thereupon stand corrected to assimilating a 35 cent booster which was upon an "impecunious scab" of the I. W. W. and for causing a feeling of awe and a look of wonder to take possession of him and realizing that he had never before observed such an awe-inspiring scene, nor would he likely see the like again; charge—\$2—and—bargain counter rate at that. We are willing to concede that the wrong item in the report was the result of presidential "weak spell" rendering his memory rather cloudy.

Fraternally,
James M. Reid.
Toronto, Can., October 27.

WAS NUN?

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The vote for the Socialist party has been reduced from about 37,000 cast for Prendergast two years ago to about 17,000 in this election in New York state. This is less than the Socialist Labor Party had in 1897, or nine years ago.

This recalls to my mind a speech delivered in that year under the auspices of the "Mohren Club" by "genosse" Alexander Jonas, one of Editors of "Der Volkszeitung."

The "Mohren Club" was an organization composed of men in and out of the party, who were opposed to the Socialist Labor Party revolutionary tactics.

I came to New York in that year and made it my business to attend all meetings that had any connection with the party.

Mr. Alexander Jonas was the "Referent" on the evening I attended the "Mohren Club," and his subject was, "Was nun?" (What now?)

His object was to show that the policy of the Socialist Labor Party was wrong, and had to be changed. The only reason he brought forth was, that the party did not gain votes.

Quite well I remember Jonas's speech. He said: "Henry George polled 68,000 votes in New York in 1896. This is 1897, eleven years after. The Henry George vote represented a revolutionary working class sentiment. A party like ours must so shape its policy to reach that element. If there were in 1896 68,000 revolutionarily inclined workmen there must now be 100,000 of them. Can we reach them with our tactics? No! The S. L. P. takes the stand that we must have a class-conscious vote, a vote that is sound and solid."

"Ya! Ya! Ya!" exclaimed Mr. Jonas, "our vote is sound and solid, as solid as a rock, it is so much like a rock that it does not move. We must change the party's policy, and we will reach the 100,000 revolutionary workmen in New York." Nine years have passed. Mr. Jonas has a party policy now, that is not as "solid as a rock" nor class-conscious, but as soft and as absorbent as a sponge; he has a party, where nobody stands in his way to prevent him from having things his own loose way; and where his friend Moritz Hilquit shapes the party's policy, appealing for personal votes, after the manner of the low politician, and suffering defeat with it all.

What about the revolutionarily inclined working class that according to Mr. Jonas himself must number now twice 68,000? Has his party reached them? Would it not be time for another "Mohren Club" meeting to discuss the question of "Was Nun?"

Rudolph Katz.
New York, October 7.

PETRIELLA, PLAYED-OUT "PROFESSOR"

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I read with interest the correspondence of Brother J. M. Reid in the Daily People

of Saturday, November 3, treating of Teofilo Petriella. It seems very much to me that all Petriella's looking for is to get notoriety among American wage slaves, now that he has gotten pretty near the short end with Italian working men.

I feel that it will not be out of place to give some of the doings of that gent, to the readers of The People. There is an old saying that you can fool some of the people some of the time, and some of the people all the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time.

When Petriella first landed, he was advertised by the Socialist Party to speak in New York, and New Jersey, as Professor Teofilo Petriella, as he called himself all the time. Where he got his title I don't know. But he does not call himself Professor lately, as he has become notorious under that title.

When he came to New Jersey he made Newark his (temporary) home and started a paper called the "Avanti." The Socialist Party contributed freely to help that private sheet going. In the meanwhile he was made Italian organizer for the State, and, according to a statement made by Charles Ufert to the writer, Petriella got \$300 or over, with no results. Seeing that he could not get any more graft in New Jersey he skipped, kangaroo-like, to Cleveland, leaving the "Avanti" dead.

Upon arriving in Cleveland, Petriella again started a publication with the same title. The "Professor" knew his game. He started to praise Max, otherwise known as "Mamie" Hayes, saying that "Mamie" was a great authority on Socialist economics; and right after the first I. W. W. convention he reproduced articles from Hayes' "Cleveland Citizen," and himself commented on the convention, stating that Debs, Untermyer, Simons and others had left the convention in disgust, and from the way he ridiculed Industrial Unionism I never thought the self-styled Professor would have the impudence to become a member of the I. W. W. The latest events, however, prove that he came in to feather his own nest.

Petriella did not stop at Cleveland. There also he left, again discontinuing the publication of the "Avanti." This time he reappeared at Calumet, Mich. There he became Editor of a paper called "Sentinella Socialista." After having had the confidence of a man named Gedda, he suddenly went away for some place unknown, leaving that said Gedda \$700 short.

A paper published at Pittsburg, Kansas, "Il Salvatore Italiano," in the interest of the W. F. of Miners in particular and Industrial Unionism in general, contains in its issue of Friday, September 7, an article entitled "Teofilo Petriella," that shows the man to be just what he is, a slanderer without proof, a grafter, pure and simple.

Members of the I. W. W. be on guard against this "Professor."

Ernest Aiazonne.
West Hoboken, N. J., November 5.

P. S. The above mentioned paper also gives the information that Pro. Graft is now publishing a paper in Chicago under the name, "Il Lavoro."

HILLQUIT—COLDGOLE—A TEAM OF LABOR PLUCKERS.

I just finished reading a report in the 1st of November number of the "Volkszeitung" charging ex-Judge Goldfogle with obtaining besides his legal salary other large sums of money as attorney for the Brith Abraham Lodge, an organization composed of poor workingmen.

Goldfogle runs for Congress against Hillquit in the 9th district and this may be the cause of the Volkszeitung great indignation. If the statement as made by the Volkszeitung is true why Goldfogle is nothing less than a scoundrel—but now why does that paper not mention that Morris Hillquit is in exactly the same boat? Why does not Volkszeitung, for the benefit of the "poor workingmen" uncover that slimy cheap guy of lawyer who skinned poor Cigar-maker Jeremias, a member of Cigar-maker Union No. 90, in such a way that Union 90, by a Referendum vote, withdrew its membership from the Labor Secretariat where Hillquit is permanent attorney at a large salary? The Jeremias case was one of the most pathetic ones. Jeremias' wife died in confinement leaving a babe and several little children, none over 8 years behind, and Jeremias out of work with the entire capital of about \$50 in the Bank in the wife's name.

In order to obtain this money for the funeral expense he had to get legal aid. As member of Union 90 he applied to Secretariat attorney Hillquit as he had a perfect right to do and to get all the legal aid FREE. Hillquit grabbed for the case. Jeremias procured the required bondsman and in half an hour the matter was settled. Now think of poor Jeremias's surprise when Hillquit presented a bill of \$25 for services leaving to Jeremias a balance of about \$35! Union 90 with 2,500 members paid a monthly per capita tax into the Treasury

FLASHLIGHTS ON THE I. W. W. CONVENTION, 1906.

(Continued from page 4.)

for was to be, not merely the leaving of Sherman stranded on the beach, but the leaving of him eternally disgraced besides, disgraced as a knave and disgraced as a fool. Accordingly, the flatterers stuck to their crew. From the second day on, Sherman convicted himself more and more irrefutably. Things that could have been known to but few delegates, charges upon which no thoughtful delegate could have acted, being only rumors and surmises,—his complicity in the McCabe outrages, his protection and hiring of spongers as "organizers," his swollen bills of expenses without even the shred of a receipt or a voucher to back up huge sums for "incidentals," his apostasy from the industrial system of Unionism, etc., etc.—were being proven by the hour on the floor of the convention. By the hour Sherman was forfeiting the respect and whatever confidence in his integrity and good intentions many a delegate might have entertained for him—but all the while a cloud was being raised over the head of the I. W. W. Out of that cloud, true enough, the organization was certain to rise all the more triumphant, all the more vigorous for the sturdiness with which it wielded the broom; in the meantime, however, nearsighted pure and simple political Socialism had a plausible pretext to sneer. For the sake of such flimsy advantage the flatterers egged their victim on and on, though his intellectual and moral ruin was made all the more certain; nor did they let up on their dupe even after the convention. On the contrary. It is thanks to them that, since the convention, Sherman put the finishing touches upon himself—he was driven to set himself up kangaroo fashion as above the Convention; still worse, he was driven to resort to detective slanders against the duly elected officers of the body; and, finally, worst of all, he was made to put his signature over and state UNDER OATH that he never had called the convention!

The conduct of the pure and simple political Socialist party officialdom, towards Sherman was vandalic. It was like the slaughtering of an ox for the sake of one pound of its meat. Such conduct was inhuman; it was the utter sacrifice of a human being upon the altars of petty, selfish and transitory purposes. The momentary glee at the superficial appearance of a disrupted I. W. W. is over. The solid results are that, such a conspiracy notwithstanding, the I. W. W. emerges triumphant. To Sherman, to the utterly victimized Sherman, this consolation may be tendered—his weakness and vanity, his betrayal of the Cause of the Working Class, crowned by the crushing defeat he has suffered, has done what nothing else could have done for the proletariat. It has evoked among wide layers of the unorganized proletariat, and of the proletariat organized outside of the I. W. W., an enthusiasm that was not there before for the Cause of Industrialism; it has inspired confidence in the power of the I. W. W. to enforce its programme. Priceless as these effects are, never would the I. W. W. have sought to purchase them with the immolation of one of its own members. The immolation having taken place without the connivance of the I. W. W. the organization is free to, and does profit by it to the fullest extent.

Hillquit's miserable unjustifiable action so incensed the members of Union 90 that the Union withdrew from the Secretariat.

"Union No. 90."
New York, November 3.

of the Labor Secretariat of about \$80 or over \$1,000 per year and was the largest organization represented in the "Labor Secretariat." Hillquit claimed this \$25 as his private legal fee.

Hillquit's miserable unjustifiable action so incensed the members of Union 90 that the Union withdrew from the Secretariat.

"Union No. 90."
New York, November 3.

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LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

M. H. S. CHAMPAIGN, ILL.—First—All questions that were asked were answered.

Second—Students acting as scab-breakers occurred last year in this city when Columbia students scabbed on subway and traction strikers; and in New Haven a few years before when Yale students scabbed on truckmen.

Third—As to deterioration of people in America, who said so and where is found specifically stated in the Minneapolis address on "The Preamble of the I. W. W."

Other questions require hunting up in People.

J. K. NEW YORK.—The Daily People was issued on this November 6, election day, and was issued every day of the year since first started on July 1, 1900, down to this day—will continue to be issued till its mission is done.

S. W. NEW YORK.—The Socialist party is not a political party. No organization is a political party that does not provide for the Might with which to enforce its ballot. The S. P.'s Trades Union posture denies the necessity of such Might.

P. S. CHICAGO, ILL.—Camille Huysman, Maison du Peuple, Brussels, Belgium, is the name and address of the Secretary of the International Bureaux.

R. C. INDIANAPOLIS, IND.—The matter is exhaustively treated in De Leon's Minneapolis address, "The Preamble of the I. W. W." Get it; read it.—The Labor or Socialist Movement adopts the methods of civilization. The ballot is such a method as it gives a chance to a peaceful solution of the Question. But the methods of civilization do not imply babyishness. Civilization implies experience of the past. Experience, accordingly, that is civilization, teaches that Right without the Might to enforce it is folly. The Labor Movement accordingly seeks to organize the Might with which to enforce its Right—that Might is the integral, the Industrial organization of the Working Class. Whether the application of that Might will be necessary—that is answered in full in the address above named. Study it!

H. A. A. BAY CITY, MICH.—The I. W. W. is not seeking to organize the Working Class in order "to help others." It is organizing them in order that they help themselves. In view of the fact, however, that the Working Class is the only class whose redemption will redound to the benefit of humanity, it follows that, as a result of "helping themselves," all other human beings are helped. The distinction is important to keep in mind. It protects one from falling into the pit-falls of bourgeois reforms which do the Working Class no good.

Next questions next week.

I. F. VANCOUVER, B. C.—The papers of all nationalities supporting the I. W. W. are: "The Industrial Worker," Chicago; the Daily and the Weekly People; "Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung," Cleveland, O.; "Il Proletario," Philadelphia, and "Ragione Nuova," Providence, both Italian; "Nepakarat" (Hungarian), New York; "Arbetaren" (Swedish), New York; "Der Arbeiter" (Jewish), New York.

F. W. M. DETROIT, MICH.—Whether the S. L. P. is the political reflex of the I. W. W.? The political reflex of the I. W. W. cannot yet be said to have been cast upon the canvas of the Labor Movement. For that the I. W. W. is still too young. All that can be said on the subject is that the S. L. P. comes nearest to what that

political reflex will be, whereas the S. P., by its policy of "Neutrality," which means hidden hostility, and often outspoken gougism, is a denial of the I. W. W. position.

C. H. NEW YORK.—What action did the I. W. W. take at the late convention in Chicago in favor of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone? The convention appointed a committee consisting of De Leon, St. John and Trautmann to draw up and send a telegraphic message to the imprisoned men. The message sent to them words of cheer, condemning the capitalist conspiracy that held them in duress, and it was signed by the committee. The convention approved of the message as sent and signed.

N. J. BRAYTON, ARI.—Nobody denies that Socialists should not quarrel. That however certain "quarrels" are necessary, and that those with whom the "quarrel" is conducted may not be let go, even if they call themselves "Socialists," seems to be perfectly clear to yourself. The closing sentence of your letter—"That there should be no place in the Movement for men, who only aspire to become leaders to further their own interests, and that such men should be kept down, is evident from the doings of the I. W. W. convention by men in the highest office"—that sentence shows that you realize that such "quarrels" are inevitable. How else are you going to "keep down" men who become "leaders to further their own interests"?

"WATCHER," LONDON, ENG.—Jaures has never been considered an authority on Marx. But he, or anybody else, who claims Marx favored the "buying out" of the capitalist class, should be put to his proof.

W. F. R. BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Good man, or good lad, whichever you may be, we shall not deny, we do not deny, that you have a place in the Socialist Movement, and that your methods, the getting up of theatrical performances on the Labor Question, has its mission. We do not deny that. But kindly excuse us if we do not share your opinion that theatricals is the only thing that should be done, or even that it is the principal thing to be done. We do not believe that the Social Revolution will be accomplished by the Stage Route. Kindly pardon us for the insolence of presuming to disagree with you.

F. C. NEW YORK.—Take the Bulletins of the "Industrial Worker." It will do you good to read them. It has published the minutes of the first seven days, and it has now started the publication of the stenographic report. You will find there all your questions answered and all the cobwebs in your head swept away. Do some original reading; don't be anybody's stuffie.

A. S.—NEW HAVEN, CONN.—Whatever appears in the Weekly People must have previously appeared in the Daily; but not all that appears in the Daily can appear in the Weekly. The Weekly is too small for that.

J. R. BIRMINGHAM, ALA.; I. R. SEATTLE, WASH.; F. R. R. GUTHRIE, OKLA.; F. S. NEW YORK; J. S. CORONA, N. Y.; M. C. DENVER, COLO.; E. D. WALTON, N. Y.; J. R. SAL LAKE, UTAH; F. J. F. MERIDEN, CONN.; J. M. P. NEW YORK; A. R. CHICAGO, ILL.; L. M. RACINE, WIS.; S. W. FALL RIVER, MASS.; I. E. S. BERLIN, GERMANY; J. G. BUFFALO, N. Y.; T. L. B. CAMDEN, N. J.; E. C. TO-COLO; J. P. TONOPAH, NEV.; READER, GALVESTON, TEX.—Matter received.

READY FOR DELIVERY

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OFFICIAL

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Frank Bohn, National Secretary, 2-6 New Reads street, New York.
S. L. P. OF CANADA.
National Secretary, T. M. Maxwell, 793 Dundas street, London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.
2-6 New Reads street, New York City (The Party's literary agency.)
Notice: For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

N. Y. S. E. C.

Regular meeting at headquarters Daily People building, 2-6 New Reads street, N. Y. city, on November 9. Duetsch absent. Moren in chair. Minutes of previous meeting approved.

Communications: From Herman Duetsch, resigning from committee on account of pressure of other matters. Accepted; secretary instructed to notify next member on reserve list. From Sections, requesting waiter's certificates. Filed. From B. Weinstein on tour through Batavia, Rochester, Geneva, Auburn, Watertown and Oswego. Filed. Bill of L. Harris for \$21.95. Ordered paid. From Middletown, N. Y., postal card giving vote under head of S. L. P. for offices for which S. L. P. had no candidates. Referred to Correspondence Bureau for investigation. From Samuel L. Brooks, Binghamton, N. Y., proposition related to canvassing and securing advertisements for Weekly People. Referred to Manager of Weekly People.

Secretary reported that he had ordered since last meeting 30,000 more campaign leaflets. This brings the total number of campaign leaflets issued up to 150,000. In addition 5,000 posters and 3,000 watchers certificates were printed. The Weekly People special issue was 15,000. Report received; and Secretary was instructed to request a statement from the Labor News Company.

It was decided to call on State Auditing Committee of Section New York to audit books of former treasurer.

Correspondence Bureau reported on various pre-election matters, affecting watchers certificates, speakers' tours, etc. Report was accepted.

The Secretary was instructed to issue a call to Sections within Greater New York to nominate members of the State Executive Committee.

Rudolph Katz, who was present, delivered a report of his tour. Considering the persons reached by Katz and the party press, the results of the tour are very gratifying and will prove productive of much future good.

A discussion of methods of building up the organization throughout the state followed. Nothing definite was done. The discussion revealed the fact that the getting of 6,000 signatures was not the terrific job that it was originally supposed to be; and that with the experience gained the next 6,000 will be more easily secured.

It was decided to submit a suggestion to the party press management, to wit: that instead of calling upon the sections to contribute to the Daily People Christmas fund, as suggested by Section Union County, all the readers of the Weekly People be called on to bring in one or more new subscribers as a Christmas gift thereto. This committee pledges itself to push the suggestion to a practical issue. Adjournment followed.

J. Ebert, Secretary.

N. J. S. E. C.

The regular meeting of the N. J. S. E. C. was held on November 11. All delegates present, except Bateman, Ball and Koenig. Herschaft in the chair. Minutes of last meeting approved as read.

Communications: From Frank Bohn, Arthur Scott, F. Zeiler, J. Hossack, J. Eck, M. Gerald, Theo. Bernine, received and filed.

Report of Section Passaic: held 12 open air meetings and 3 hall meetings, distributed 8,000 leaflets, sold large number of books and Weekly Peoples. Union County held 12 open air meetings and 1 Italian meeting, distributed 3,000 leaflets in Elizabeth and 5,000 in Plainfield. Elizabeth is going to hold lectures this winter; will also try to secure a Weekly People canvasser, and intend to raise \$500 for the People.

J. C. Butterworth, Sec'y.

BAZAAR AND FAIR.

Gifts For Them Coming In Grand Style.

The undersigned is pleased to announce that presents for the Bazaar and Fair to be held at Grand Central Palace on Thanksgiving Day are coming in quite lively. And they are coming in not only from this city but from all parts of the country as the acknowledgements below will show.

Now that the excitement of the Election is over it is hoped that all hands will get busy for the coming Festival so as to put all the previous affairs of this kind in the shade.

The following is a list of the cash donations and presents that have so far

been received: D. Rudnick, city, handsome table cloth; J. Levy, Schenectady, N. Y., elegant ink stand; F. R. Silberg and K. Bauer, Venice, California, two beautiful kelp figures; Miss Berger, Hoboken, N. J., two fine books; Ernest Aiazzone, West Hoboken, N. J., book "Woman Under Socialism"; Mrs. Braukman, Pleasantville, N. Y., two doilies, 3 fine silk sofa pillows, six beautiful work baskets and three handkerchief cases; B. Mazanek, elegant table gas lamp and globe; Mrs. Max Heyman, city, four pieces of china ware; William Messenger city, cash donation of two dollars; C. C. Croll, Pleasantville, N. Y., four dozen packages of North Carolina plug cut tobacco; Jacob Marks, Brooklyn, N. Y., one dozen fine ladies leather belts, lady hand bag, 5 purses and 3 pocket books.

L. Abelson, Organizer.

PARTY PRESS OPERATING FUND.
Section St. Louis, Mo. \$ 1.00
C. Kaufman, Seattle, Wash.25
E. Carlson, Seattle, Wash.50
Diricka, Seattle, Wash.36
J. McCall, Seattle, Wash.35
M. Gregory, Milwaukee, Wis.50
Wm. Lucas, New York City 2.00
E. Moonells, New York City 2.00
J. Johnson, Boston, Mass.25
Section Braddock, Pa., (German Branch) collected at
Picnic \$.25
Previously acknowledged ... \$ 15.25
Total \$424.73

NEW YORK STATE AGITATION FUND.
Received during the week ending with Saturday, November 10:
Section New York County, donations from: 6th A. D. \$2.50; same A. D., weekly collection, \$2.18 A. D. \$1.25; 8 & 11 A. D., 60c; 23 & 24 A. D., \$1.10; O. Shervane, \$3 \$ 10.35
Section New York County, 2-3 on lists as follows: No. 6, 4 & 5 A. D., 90c; No. 9, 11 & 13 A. D., 50c; No. 141, French Branch, 34c; No. 142, German Branch, 71c; No. 2, 5 & 10 A. D., \$2.10; No. 138, 5 A. D., 17c; No. 7, 8 & 12 A. D., \$2.34 12.34
Section New York County, donation from 20 A. D. 5.00
Pleasantville, N. Y., (21) 2.00
Schenectady, M. Stern, \$1; K. Georgewitch, \$1.75 2.75
A. Weiss, Brooklyn50
Section New York County, 2-3 on lists as follows: No. 137, 34 & 35 A. D., 67c; No. 148, 34 & 35 A. D., \$5.23 5.90
Jos. H. Harkaw, Brooklyn, for People files sold to A. J. Francis, N. Y. 10.00
1-2 of balance of mass meeting, Yorkville, City 6.53
Collected by R. Katz from: V. Smith, Troy, \$1; K. Georgewitch, Schenectady, \$2 3.00
R. Katz, People subs. during October 25.00
R. Katz, sale of literature during October 2.00
Total for the week \$ 75.92
Acknowledged on Nov. 3 975.61

Grand total on Nov. 10. \$1,051.53

Note—Now that the election is over Sections are urged to gather in all outstanding lists and make prompt returns. All lists that have been received must be returned.

Henry Kuhn, Fin. Secy.-Treas. New York State Executive Committee.

CHICAGO, ATTENTION.

There will be a mass meeting on SUNDAY, November 18th, 2 p. m., at 592 Fulton street, which no members of the S. L. P. should fail to attend.

F. M. Davis, Organizer.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY ORGANS
Weekly People, 2-6 New Reads st., N. Y., per year \$6
Daily People, 2-6 New Reads st., N. Y., per year \$2.50
Arbaretan (Swedish Weekly) 2-6 New Reads st., N. Y., per year 1.00
Der Arbeiter (Jewish Weekly), 2-6 New Reads st., N. Y., per year .50
Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung (German Weekly), 310 Champlain ave., Cleveland, O., per year 1.00
Nepakarat (Hungarian Weekly), 714 East 9th st., N. Y., per year 1.50
Ragione Nuova (Italian Monthly), 21 Bond st., Providence, R. I., per year38
Who comes in contact with workmen reading either of these languages should not fail to call attention to these papers and endeavor to secure subscriptions. Sample copies will be sent upon request. Address each paper as per address given above, and not as often the case, to the Labor News, Frank Bohn, National Secretary, 2-6 New Reads street, New York.

AN OPEN LETTER
TRAUTMANN TO KIRWAN

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 7, 1906.

Mr. James Kirwan,
Room 3, Pioneer Building,
Denver, Colo.

Sir:

In yours of October 29th, 1906, written in answer to a request for a correct statement, "in all fairness" you lie deliberately! Sir, you lie maliciously, for a certain purpose. You lie knowingly, and at the behest of people whose sole design is to shield themselves behind the glorious name of the Western Federation of Miners to cover up only their nefarious deeds.

You may insult, that is your privilege, but not at the expense of truth; because the lie will be nailed, even though it may take years for the truth to come out, and falsehoods to be exposed.

YOU KNEW that you stated a falsehood when you claim to have received only \$8433.06 for the Moyer, etc. Defense Fund.

The receipts given by you, and deposited in the now broken safe of the Industrial Workers of the World, may be destroyed—at least according to statement of Mr. Chas. O. Sherman, once principal in the Fraternal Supply Company, they are no longer in the State of Illinois, but you seem to forget that "three auditing committees" have gone over the accounts of the I. W. W., and their statement, herein repeated, that you have received the total sum of \$8433.06—ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS MORE THAN YOU WISH TO GIVE ACKNOWLEDGMENT FOR, is corroborated by the Bank statement, according to which you have received, from the funds collected for the defense of Wm. D. Haywood, Vincent St. John, Pettibone and Moyer, collected by "tramps" mind you! the following draft:

On April 5th, 1906, the sum of \$2,500.00
On May 14th, 1906, the sum of 4,000.00
On June 1st, 1906, the sum of 1,500.00
On July 22d, 1906, the sum of 433.06
Total amount \$9,433.06
ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS MORE THAN YOU ACKNOWLEDGE HAVING RECEIVED.

When Mr. C. E. Mahoney, woke up to the fact that the "tramps of America" and the "damned Dutchmen," as he and Mr. McCabe deemed to call me and others—although the contributions of the "damned Dutch Brewery Workers" to the support of the militant rank and file of the Western Federation of Miners, was given irrespective of the fighters' birthplace, would no longer be willing to spend their energies to see only a lot of reactionists laugh and sneer at the efforts at labor's emancipation, he, in one of the fateful moments, let out the statement in the presence of bystanders: "We will show that Trautmann cannot account for \$10,000.00 collected for that Moyer-Haywood-St. John Defense Fund," I for one knew that another plan of crookedness had been concocted,—but I never imagined that a James Kirwan would be made a party to a malefice, and a criminal act, at least not consciously.

This story, circulated extensively, prompted me to probe into the question whether you in your bias, injected by outer influences, would allow yourself to become a party to an evident crime.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES.
For the week ending November 10th, 177 subs to the Weekly People and 43 mail subs to the Daily People, a total of 220, were received. These sending five or more subs were:
R. Katz, New York State, 14; G. Sheel, Black Diamond, Cal., 8; M. J. Clark, Paducah, Ky., 7; G. Thumhann, Cincinnati, O., 7; W. Goss, Belleville, Ill., 6; J. Breuer, Hartford Conn., 5; F. Fellerman, Hartford, Conn., 5; J. W. Neuman, St. Louis, Mo., 5.
Prepaid cards, O. M. Johnson, Dimond, Cal., \$1.50.

With the work attendant upon the campaign out of the way the thing to do now is push the party press all along the line. The determination to do this will be reflected in these reports. Let no section nor comrade be found lagging in the work. Push the Weekly People!

TO OUR READERS.

All subscriptions: Daily People, and Weekly People, are discontinued at the date of expiration. In order to prevent interruption in the mailing of your paper, watch the label and renew in time; it facilitates the work at this end and assures that you get the paper without break in the service. Watch the label!

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

Under the auspices of Section Boston S. L. P., Daniel De Leon of New York, editor of the Daily People, will speak on the subject: "Industrial Unionism" on SUNDAY afternoon, November 25, at 3 o'clock in Knights of Honor Hall, 730 Washington street, Boston. Questions invited. Admission free.

Your one falsehood did logically beget the other, and although you repeat parrot-like only what Mr. C. E. Mahoney has innocently into your mind, don't forget that the "tramps" will know when the truth is carelessly handled by you or any other one, nor will they accept your vague statements without the submitting of positive facts and proofs!

With the same right, and the same logic, would I say that you, since trying to show only \$8433.06 were sent to you, will not give an account of those other \$10,000, because it might comprise the sum that you have sent to Chas. O. Sherman, authorizing him and legal counsel, Mr. Seymour Stedman, to engage sluggers and detectives of the Bohland Detective Agency, for the sole purpose of preventing those who were responsible for the raising of the defense fund, the "despised tramps," from carrying out execution the program of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Neither Sherman nor McCabe, and even Mr. Mahoney, have raised their voice, nor digged down, like the "tramps" did, to arouse the working class of America and make them rally to the support of men who were persecuted, not as individuals, but as carriers of an idea and principle. But that is a subject which I will extensively deal with, together with "Belmont House" episodes in another open answer to a few of these "tramp-fighters."

Mr. Kirwan, deny, if you can, that you have received the sum of \$9433.06 for the Moyer-Haywood Defense Fund!

Deny, if you can, that money contributed by wage earners and "tramps" also has been placed in the hands of Chas. O. Sherman, by you, and of his aide-de-camp attorney, Seymour Stedman, to engage sluggers, professional thugs and detectives of a most notorious detective agency, who, combined with thugs of the Perkins Detective Agency of Pittsburgh, Pa., conjointly with the labor fakirs of the American Federation of Labor, were hired to perpetrate their dastardly acts against Marc Wild, myself, and the four hundred and twenty struggling brewery workers of Columbus, Ohio, in 1902, the same brewery workers of Columbus, Ohio, who assessed themselves regularly and raised large sums to support the eight hour movement of the Western Federation of Miners; damned "Dutchmen" too, according to the McCabe and Mahoneys.

And to find that these "tramps" have to face again these criminal thugs, engaged apparently with money that they, "the tramps" have raised! Ah, you have gone to the limit, and thought the "tramps" are crushed! But they will not remain silent, and although you may say "to hell with the tramps—I need not give account of how the \$9433.06, raised by them, has been expended," you may think even they will accept your statement that the amount was only \$8433.06—but I challenge a denial that my statement is not correct!

And this is not all, Mr. Kirwan—not all is known to the "tramps," or what they will know in a short time from now, when the "Belmont House Conspiracies" will be written by a few who know.

Cease your cry "STOP THIEF!"
Wm. E. Trautmann.

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

Pamphlets: Potlach, Idaho, 100; Unity Club, New York, 100; Detroit, Mich., 80; Italian Federation, 120.

Books and pamphlets: San Francisco, Cal., \$11.45; Minneapolis, Minn., \$10.35; Portland, Ore., \$7.37; Vancouver, B. C., \$5.55; Boston, Mass., \$2; Kansas City, Mo., \$1.70; Denver, \$2; Kansas City, Diamond, Cal., \$3.

Now is the season in which to spread the sound literature of the S. L. P. During the campaign much that is handed out is unread by the workers for the reason that they are overwhelmed with all kinds of campaign reading matter, therefore let us do the work now while their minds are not bewildered with by the "issues" raised in campaign times.

PITTSBURGERS, ATTENTION.

Yourself and company are respectively invited to attend the Second Annual Reception of the Pittsburgh Labor Lyceum to be held at Allentown Turner Hall, Allen Ave., 21st ward, Pittsburgh, Penna., THANKSGIVING NIGHT, Thursday, November 29th, 1906.

Music by State Orchestra—Jones Prompter.
Admission: Gents 50 cents, Additional Ladies 25 cents.

DETROIT, TAKE NOTICE.

The 1906 campaign festival arranged by Section Detroit Socialist Labor Party to be held at Weber's Hall, corner Garfield Ave. and Ripelle street, on SATURDAY evening, November 24, 1906. Ladies Complimentary.

SOCIALIST WOMEN

Of the Bronx Continue Work of Organization and Education.

Despite the very bad weather of Sunday afternoon, November 11, "The Socialist Women of the Bronx" held another well-attended meeting of their organization at the home of Mrs. Florence Johnson, 816 East One Hundred and Forty-first street. A great deal of business was transacted. Committees on lectures and halls were appointed. A discussion on the Daily People Thanksgiving Day Festival also took place. Many of the features of the festival were considered and committees appointed to look after them. There will be some surprises sprung by "The Socialist Women of the Bronx" at the fair. Presents were also received in its behalf, and arrangements made to provide for more. The educational work of the organization will be taken more conspicuously in hand as soon as the fair is over.

One new member was present at the last meeting; more are expected to be present at the next, which will be held at the home of Mrs. Samuel French, 397 Willis avenue, Tuesday evening, November 20.

The communication from Mrs. Rhoda Brooks of Binghamton, N. Y., was read and received with great enthusiasm; as was also the following from Miss Elizabeth Gurley Flynn:

To the Socialist Women of the Bronx,
Dear Comrades and Friends:—

I am very glad to read in the Daily People of your efforts to rouse an interest in Socialism among women, by inaugurating a club of Socialist women for active work, and I extend to you the hand of welcome and comradeship. My best wishes for your success, and heartiest congratulations go out to you, from one who has been lonesome for women in the movement, and I hope you will go right ahead and carry out your plans.

Ever since I first came in touch with the Socialist agitation work, a short time ago, I have been discouraged and disappointed again and again by my failures to interest women, by the scarcity of women in the political and economic fields of the movement and by the stubborn prejudice so many wives and daughters of Socialists hold against Socialism. I have wondered if there were no remedy for these difficulties, and if your club can find this remedy and apply it, it will be a great boon to Socialism.

I know it is hard to interest women, because their position in the homes is so absorbing and apt to shut them from outside interests, and being dependents they have no political power. Even so, the bad conditions of present-day society, the difficulty of making ends meet, are very plain to them; or at least are clear to the wives of workmen, in whom we alone are interested. If they could but understand the connection between these difficulties and Socialism, the cause of the economic trouble and the relief as pointed out by Socialism, then I am certain their prejudice and lack of interest would begin to give way.

Then there is the ever-increasing number of women who work in the shops and factories, to be reached. Women, who stand in exactly the same position as workmen, and to whom we should be able to appeal very easily, constitute this division. They are the ones we must organize in the industrial movement, which is no small task.

Lastly, I might mention those who while in all these different classes, stand nearest to us, and yet we have not been able to make much headway with them, the wives and daughters of Socialist men. Some of them have so little interest or are so stubbornly set against it, that many a good worker gets discouraged, feeling if he cannot reach his own family, how possibly can he reach the vast outside world. I myself stand as the daughter of a Socialist, but there are not many in the movement and I wish these young folks could only feel the inspiration and help it is to have some common interest in ideas, in the family. I am sure they would all be students of Socialism, if for this reason alone. Then further there is another side to consider. If the men are doing their part in the proletarian movement, we must not be left behind. We, too, are of the working class and there is a part of the work that we should each be doing. We must be just as intelligent, as progressive and earnest as the men of the working class.

There is so much for women in the working class emancipation. ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE, that means a great deal to the women who have felt the grind of the economic slavery on herself, her husband and children. A chance for each child that comes into this world, with no distinctions of class as we have to-day. For now the child of a workman has but one future open, to toil and support in luxury the child of the capitalist, in place of their parents, the worker supporting the employer to-day. There is so much more resultant from

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economic freedom, that it would be impossible to name them over, but certainly there is proportionately every reason why we should study up and know what Socialism is and what we can do for it; organize industrially and if we perchance get the ballot, we will know how to use it, for the workmen and workingwomen. If we should vote, just to continue the capitalist system, our votes as women are of no consequence. If, on the contrary, we add our political voice to the workers as a protest against capitalism, that voice will eventually be heard.

Now I am afraid I have trespassed too far upon your patience and time so I will close by becoming personal. I understand that at present you are busy making arrangements for the Daily People Fair on Thanksgiving Day. As I have no experience, I can do nothing to help you and would probably only hinder you. But when you get at the educational and agitation work and I can help you, I shall be only too glad to do so, and you will need only call on me. Meanwhile, I remain,

Your comrade for Socialism,
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.
795 East 134th Street.
November 10, 1906.

Women who feel interested in the work of "The Socialist Women of the Bronx," and would like to join, assist in, or know more about the same, are requested to write the organizer, Mrs. Anna Touroff, 598 St. Mary's street, Bronx, New York.

THE S. L. P. VOTE.

(Continued from page 1.)

Rhode Island Returns for Governor.
1905 1906
S. L. P. 315 324
S. P. 325 351
These returns are presumed to be for the city of Providence only.

HARTFORD S. L. P.

Counted Out—Clear Case of Fraud Perpetrated.

Hartford, Conn., November 8.—Election is over and with the sole exception of the Democratic nominee for Judge of Probate, all the other candidates of the Republican party were elected to office in the city of Hartford.

In the published report of the votes cast for the other parties, nothing looks more singular than the votes accorded to the Socialist Labor Party. These amount to 49 in the entire city! Two years ago the S. L. P. polled 60 votes for the same candidates; true, only a trifle more, yet instead of maintaining the lowest pitch it has gone down still more and if this ratio is kept up in the future the outcome must be less than nothing, it such a thing is possible. Looking into details the thing appears still queerer, for not a single S. L. P. vote is credited in the First and Third Wards, in spite of the fact that one of the S. L. P. candidates resides in the Third Ward. If the published report is correct, and it is asserted that it is, then either our own candidates have not voted at all or else have voted another ticket but their own.

But anyone familiar with the affairs under consideration will spurn with contempt such a silly assumption. Yet for argument's sake, let it be granted that one or the other of our candidates has neglected his duty and turned a traitor to his party, but that all four should have done so, not to count other members and sympathizers who reside in those wards, is supremely ridiculous. On the other hand it demonstrates how much reliance can be placed on "official" counting. There seems to be method in this game, for the same thing happened two years ago in the First Ward, where not a single vote was credited to the S. L. P. although several candidates were residing in that ward, not to mention other members or sympathizers.

SECTION CALENDAR.

Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements. The charge will be five dollars a year for five lines.

Kings County General Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m. at Weber's Hall, corner of Throop avenue and Stockton street, Brooklyn.

General Committee, New York County—Second and fourth Saturday in the month, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reads street, Manhattan.

Offices of Section New York County at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reads street, Manhattan.

Los Angeles, Cal., Headquarters and public reading rooms at 400 East Seventh street. Public educational meetings Sunday evenings. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

Section Chicago, Ill., meets second and Fourth Wednesday in the month, 8 p. m. at 592 Fulton street.

Sec. Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P. meets every alternate Sunday, beginning first Sunday in November, 1906, at 356 Ontario street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 3 P. M.

month at 356 Ontario street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 8 P. M.

Sec. St. Louis, Mo., S. L. P. meets every first and third Monday of each month, 8 P. M., at 804 Market street.

Headquarters Section Cincinnati, O., S. L. P., 1330 Walnut street, General Committee meets every 2nd and 4th Thursday, German, Jewish and Hungarian educational meetings every Wednesday and Sunday; Open every night.

Section Providence, R. I., 81 Dyer st., room 8. Every Tuesday night at 8 p. m. 2nd and 4th regular business, others devoted to lectures. Science class Wednesday nights.

New Jersey State Executive Committee, S. L. P., J. C. Butterworth Sec'y, 110 Allbon ave., Paterson; A. Lessig, Fin. Sec'y, 266 Governor street, Paterson; N. J.

Section Bisbee, Arizona, is still alive and kicking. All S. L. P. men coming to Bisbee, please communicate with M. A. Aaron, General Delivery.

Section Spokane, Wash., S. L. P. free reading room 217 Front avenue. Visiting comrades, J. W. W. members and all others invited. Business meetings every Sunday morning 11 a. m.

Section San Francisco, Cal., S. L. P. Headquarters, 1384 Eddy street, corner Webster street.

Section Allentown, Pa., S. L. P. meets every first Saturday in the month at 8 P. m. Headquarters 515 Hamilton street.

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Trenton's Vote.

Trenton, N. J., November 10.—S. L. P. vote, 110 straight, 3 split. S. P. vote 73 straight, 61 split. S. P. two years ago, 896 straight and split. S. L. P. two years ago cannot find out, in many places voters had to ask for S. P. stickers, they are taking action in prosecuting election judges.

Evansville, Ind., Vote.

Evansville, Ind., November 9.—The Socialist Labor Party vote in 1904 was 73; 1906 92. Socialist Party vote 1902, 1280; 1904, 1780; 1906, 625; loss 1155.

Moline's Votes Exceeds Expectations. Moline, Ill., November 9.—The election returns here shows an average of between 40 and 50 votes for Moline, Francis 53. Veal 40. Davis 39. Goss 35. Ahlberg 48. This is more than anticipated, because the S. P. and Heartism is very strong here.